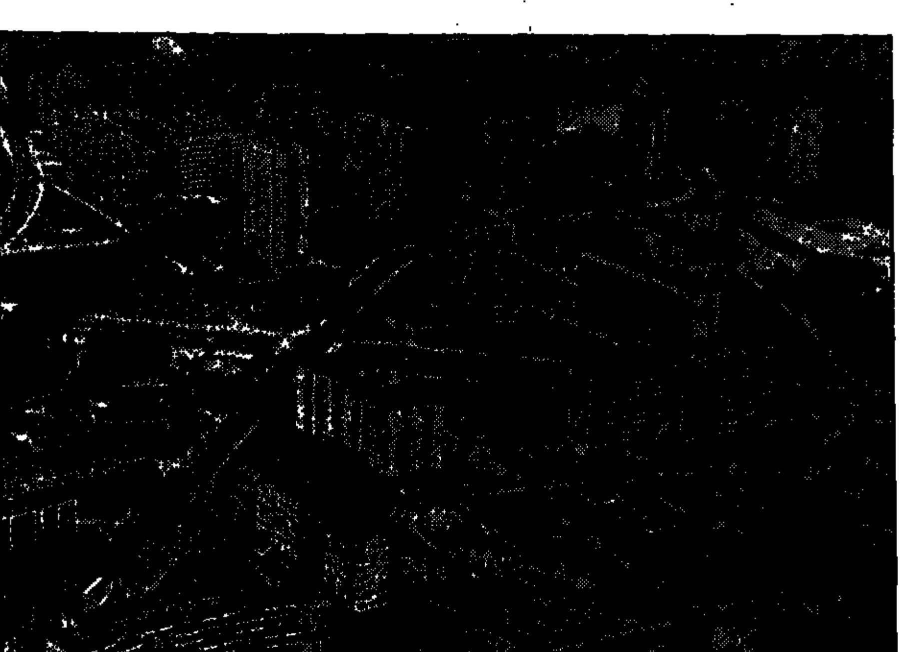






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Bonn, Paris summit underlines accord

President Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt held their second set of talks on the international situation on 4 February. After their meeting the day before an Elysee Palace spokesman said, the course of the talks "testified to the vitality of Franco-German detente". As for the contents of the talks, little more was said than that there had been a profound discussion. The 35th Franco-German summit meeting ended with a joint communique which expressed the attitude of both states towards the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and towards further efforts to preserve peace. Immediately on his arrival in Paris Herr Schmidt drove to the Elysee Palace.

After talks with Giscard, they were joined by foreign ministers François-Poncet and Genscher. On 4 February the President gave a dinner for the Chancellor at which Prime Minister Barre was also present.

Here they discussed monetary and economic problems which had not been dealt with in previous talks. While Giscard and Schmidt were continuing their talks in the afternoon, looking not only at the world crisis but also at Franco-German relations, the full German delegation from Bonn, consisting of nine ministers, arrived.

The ministers and their French counterparts then started their discussions. On Common Market affairs, the relevant ministers discussed the British contribution to the EEC budget and the Common Agricultural Policy.

The Bonn and Paris delegations meet for the 35th Franco-German summit in Paris against the background of world crisis.

Both sides are likely to underline their willingness to keep the door to detente open.

But, at the same time, the probable line is that the defence of the Western position cannot be left entirely to the Americans.

This summit comes at a time when the Americans, following the Iran crisis and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, are again aware of their leading role.

As Bonn is more dependent than Paris on American defence guarantees, especially in relation to the freedom of Berlin, the US's renewed determination to assume the leading role in the West is to Bonn's advantage.

France, on the other hand, has always claimed more independence from the two big Blocs led by the USSR and the USA, and it will have to emphasise its role as a third force.

There is no reason to complain about France going its own way.

President Giscard d'Estaing gave a good definition of France's view of its role during his visit to Indira Gandhi in New Delhi.

He made it clear that France condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

However a France conscious of its independence can achieve far more, especially in its relations with the East Bloc, than if it unconditionally chimes in with Western solidarity.

France has always resisted the temptation of winning the approval of Moscow or other Kremlin vassals by neglecting its own arms efforts.

The summit, begins with talks between Giscard d'Estaing and Chancellor Schmidt.

The unusual aspect of this year's consultations is not only that the German delegation is larger than usual. More important is that the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has sharpened the awareness that a global strategy for the defence of Western interests is needed. One aspect of this strategy will be a division of labour between France and West Germany which, in the final analysis, will also be of help to the US. The basis of this help is the understanding between France and the West Germany. This understanding stood the test of time, despite problems and difficulties over the years.

And there is no reason to believe that there will be any change in the future.

The Franco-German Cooperation Treaty, under which these talks take place, was signed in the Elysée Palace, on 22 January 1953.

When Charles de Gaulle and Konrad Adenauer embraced, this put the seal on the reconciliation between the two nations.

Nonetheless, there have been misunderstandings ever since the treaty came into force.

Bonn and Paris have always had difficulties finding a common line on important questions. There were conflicts between the French insistance on national independence and West German defence interests based on the importance of Nato and the United States as the guarantors of our defence.

Nonetheless, all the problems arising between the two countries have always been brought under control.

The reason for this is undoubtedly the regular Franco-German consultations laid down in the treaty, which have become a useful routine. *Bodo Schulte*

(Nordwest Zeitung, 2 February 1980)

Talks over the international crisis: French President Giscard d'Estaing (left) greets the Bonn Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, in Paris. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

Talks with East bloc still on the agenda

Bonn is determined to continue talking with the East Bloc, despite the fact that planned meetings have been postponed.

And, in the current crisis, the East has not been sparing in its postponements, including that of the proposed meeting between the Chancellor himself and GDR leader Erich Honecker.

Herr Schmidt suspects that the connections might have been cut because of fear of contact: even contacts offered without strings by Bonn.

Here we can reassure the Chancellor: fear has seldom made the Soviet Union change its policies.

Soviet expert Shulman told the Congress Committee in Washington that America warned the Russians five times last year against marching into Afghanistan and warned of the possible consequences if they ignored the warning.

And what did the Politburo do after that?

It marched into Afghanistan, as planned. It cannot be ruled out that the Soviet Union underestimated the strength of the protest from the West.

One might think that in the circumstances they might appreciate the continual offers of talks from Bonn. (The French are more reserved, and London has shown Moscow the cold shoulder).

But no, the continually repeated offers are met with more and more postponements of planned visits.

The Soviet Union is not willing to talk at the moment, either directly or indirectly.

It is completely preoccupied with its brotherly aid for Afghanistan and those who disapprove of this aid — such as the Chancellor — it does not want to talk to.

Why indeed? The facts have been accomplished, there is nothing left to change, the "liberation" move has to be digested in the west.

The Soviet Union knows that the West needs time for this. This is why it is holding back.

Now no one would want a country as exposed as West Germany, with its responsbility for West Berlin, to deliberately cut off all talks with the other side.

This is also the view of the Opposition, which of course is remarkably reserved in its criticisms because Strauss has not given up hopes of a ticket to Moscow.

The coalition is working on the view that one cannot simply question ten years of detente policy only eight months before the general election without excessively disillusioning the voters.

Of course there is no shortage of reasons, good and useful for keeping the door open.

But there is no need to grovel.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 February 1980)

■ THE BALANCE OF POWER

The West's priorities suddenly become clearer as policy shifts

Samuel Johnson once said something to the effect that nothing clears the head like the prospect of being hanged tomorrow.

His remark is particularly applicable to the present shift in the West's foreign policy.

The priorities have suddenly become clearer. Military regime in Pakistan? So what? Nonproliferation worries with regard to Islamabad? The Chinese card?

Who cares? After all, we need China. Release of four German terrorists from a Jugoslav prison? It's almost forgotten.

Conditions imposed on Turkey concerning its monetary policy? All that matters is to keep the country going — especially now — we'll worry about the rest later.

All these problems will remain, so why tackle them now? They will come back as soon as the latest *Ostpolitik* becomes part of day-to-day life.

Still, in a situation like the one we are facing our heads are clearer and we see what must come first — both in foreign policy and in the political tug-of-war over it at home.

Notwithstanding all sorts of half-voiced complaints by the Bonn brass about the American president — complaints not even silenced by the prospect of being hanged tomorrow — it has become clear that Washington and Bonn have come closer in drafting their future policy towards Russia and the Middle East.

Germany is pressing for a coordinated strategy that would include all aspects and instruments of a common policy. Bonn does not want Washington to place such emphasis on measures directly designed to punish Moscow for its invasion of Afghanistan.

It fears such punitive action because Soviet reprisals for the American boycott would hit primarily Berlin and its access routes.



Besides, Bonn holds that the effects of such boycotts soon wear off.

Even so, the policy makers seem to overlook the fact that some of these *measures, such as the cutbacks in the* export of grain and advanced technology, could certainly prove effective over an extended period.

Bonn's argument that Western trade with the East does not rest on the same foundations in all Western countries and that the Federal Republic of Germany has contractual commitments which it does not want to break certainly holds water.

But even beyond this reasonable line of argument there is a conspicuous reluctance on the part of Bonn to teach the Soviet Union a lesson.

This is most pronounced in the case of the Olympics boycott — something that would cost Bonn nothing, that would not violate a contract, lose no export orders and cost not a single German job. But it would still deal the Soviets a severe blow.

With it all, large segments of the Government and the governing parties hold that it would be awkward for a German Olympic team to go to Moscow while the Americans, the British and the Canadians stay away.

Bonn will therefore probably have to go along with Washington, though without being very ostentatious in doing what it recognises as necessary in terms of its alliance policy and with a view to dealing an effective blow to the Kremlin.

Notwithstanding all these considerations, Bonn is prepared to accept sanctions as a supplement to a necessary strategy.

Need to preserve the tangible results of Ostpolitik

Bonn seems to have gained ground in Washington with its call for a "strategy" rather than mere "reactions."

The Federal Republic of Germany wants to preserve as much as possible of detente that is based on a balance of power in Europe.

It also wants to preserve the tangible results its *Ostpolitik* has had concerning Berlin, German-German relations and the broad field of arms control.

Outside Europe, this policy is to be combined with efforts at containing the Soviet Union in the danger spots of the Third World.

Chancellor Schmidt is not in favour of philosophical discussions on the divisibility of detente and on such questions as whether detente describes a political situation or whether it is a political demand. After all, not only Washington but Bonn, too, has an election coming up.

The interesting new formula in Herr Schmidt's government policy statement boiled down to telling the Soviet Union that the more it regarded detente as something cohesive the more would it enable the West to pursue it.

This flexible attitude creates a link between the preservation of that which has been achieved through detente so far and the necessary containment and defence policy in the Third World.

This is the strategy on which Bonn would like to achieve consensus among its allies.

Where this strategy affects Western policy in the Third World it is to be pursued with three different means: diplomacy in the strict sense, economic and social policy and, lastly, the armed forces.

Discussion at present centres on the second element while little is said on the third and virtually nothing on the first.

It appears that the allies want to pursue a common plan but with divided roles in keeping with their possibilities and capabilities overseas.

The first step in this direction will be to summon a conference of all European countries that have extended credit to Pakistan and to get them to refinance these credits which, in any event, Pakistan is unable to repay now.

The next step will be to provide Pakistan with additional money. This will have to be in the order of several billion deutschemarks — a task to be assigned to the United States.

It is still unclear what form the cooperation between the European Community and the Gulf States, as advocated by Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff, is to take.

During his recent visit to that region, the minister's proposal for a close cooperation met with much interest.

It also rekindled secret wishes in many countries that the United States become more politically committed there in terms of power politics.

EEC cooperation with the ASEAN states of Southeast Asia is being spoken of as a model for such a cooperation, but is not entirely suitable because the Opec countries are not worried about access to European markets.

Their interest in preferential terms for the import of oil-based products by the Community is likely to be limited.

What they are more interested in are closer political contacts with Europe. And this could best be satisfied by political cooperation and consultation with the EEC.

Germany's aid for Turkey will probably exceed what has been done already. In 1979, Bonn provided economic and military aid to the tune of DM680m, partly directly and partly via the OECD.

Of all the allies, Germany is considered the country with the best relations with Turkey.

And it has managed that without souring ties with Greece.

Neither America nor Britain, nor France either, has managed this in such a balanced way.

In all likelihood the aid for Turkey will have to be swift and extend over several years.

It is likely to amount to several billion deutschemarks and will probably be at the expense of the envisaged tax relief estimated to account for the DM16bn to DM18bn in 1980/81.

Policy makers seem to think of major infrastructure programmes in Turkey that would create jobs in the transport industry and in road construction and at the same time create the necessary conditions for further economic development.

Turkey, they argue, is much too important strategically for the West to be able to afford that country's collapse.

Turkey too strategically important to allow to collapse

Bonn wants to provide much of this aid via the OECD because this would minimise the impression of dependence and, at the same time, make the conditions on the use of the money more acceptable.

Moreover, Turkey is a Nato member and so Bonn is free to contribute towards modernising Turkey's armed forces. They need primarily new vehicles and anti-tank and air defence weaponry.

The air force urgently needs spares because America cut off the supply after Turkey invaded Cyprus.

Military circles are also considering heavier participation by Turkey in the production of military hardware for the other Western forces. This would primarily be the manufacture of ammunition.

The assembly of army vehicles could also be transferred to Turkey.

Little is said in Bonn about the other two important countries for the Western containment strategy, i.e. Yugoslavia and Egypt.

Egypt needs about as much aid as Pakistan and Turkey. But it does not right now receive the attention it should.

So far as Yugoslavia is concerned, the allies, though not disregarding the importance of economic cooperation, lay more emphasis on diplomatic efforts to preserve its independence.

No-one in Bonn and the other Nato nations has much faith in the collective leadership that is to take over after Tito.

The disintegration of this body is what is feared. It is this distant contingency and not the day on which Tito dies that the Soviet leadership will use as its defence in reconquering a "socialist brother country."

The West still has some time until then and should use it to strengthen Yugoslavia's independence.

One concept spoken of in Bonn at the moment aims at convincing Yugoslavia of the advantages of a declared neutrality over and above the present nonalignment policy.

Such a declared neutrality would provide the Soviet Union with the certainty that Yugoslavia would not lean to the West even after Tito.

For Yugoslavia's security this would mean yet another insurance against Soviet intervention. At least, it would make an intervention more reprehensible in terms of international law.

Rumania would benefit from such declared neutrality and the West would gain an additional advantage by the fact that Yugoslavia would bar the Soviets from access to the Mediterranean region.

So far as the military component of the new containment strategy is concerned, there will be a division of labour among the allies.

Nato's defence function will remain essentially unchanged, an amendment of the Treaty being very difficult and probably bringing no advantages.

Pundits say that it would be impossible to devise a better treaty than that of 1949.

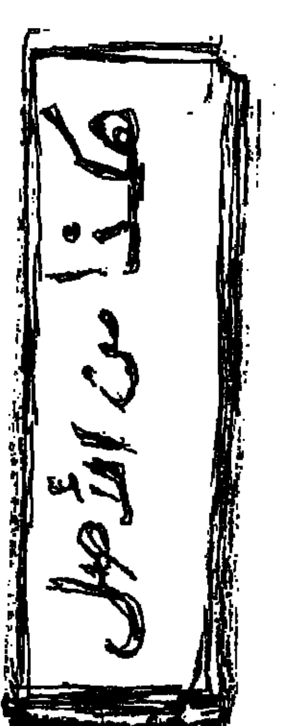
Government and opposition in Bonn agree that neither the operational area of Nato nor its function, nor the strength of the Bundeswehr should be changed.

Many allies, including the United States, seem to go along with this.

Thus the Bundeswehr will not be used outside the operational area of Nato (Europe, Mediterranean and North ...

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■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

EEC steps up role as a power following Soviet invasion

The European Community has stepped-up its role in foreign affairs since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

For example, the Italian ambassador in Moscow, acting for the EEC, handed in a protest note about the exile of the dissident Andrei Sakharov.

And the Italian Prime Minister spoke on behalf of the Community with President Carter about measures to be taken following the invasion.

In addition, the EEC is to make a joint decision on a possible boycott of the Olympic Games.

In discussions surrounding the boycott move, Bonn continually refers to the EEC.

What are the bases of this activity in foreign policy? There is no mention in the Treaties of Rome on the foundation of the European Economic Community of common foreign policy.

It was not until the European summit conferences of 1969 in The Hague and 1972 in Paris that the concept of "European political cooperation" emerged, to lay down "the further guidelines for European unity."

Following The Hague summit, the European foreign ministers produced a report listing goals and methods of common foreign policy.

A second report following the Paris summit stated that member states had to consult one another on all important foreign policy matters before determining their final position.

In December 1974 the heads of government created the Council of Europe. In this the heads of government and the foreign ministers meet at least three times a year to discuss the internal and external problems of Europe as a whole.

The heads of government decided to extend European Political Cooperation (EPC) to all areas of international politics affecting the interests of the EEC: internal working out of common viewpoints and concerted diplomacy.

The President of the EEC has special responsibility for EPC. (The chairmanships changes hands every six months. At the moment the Italians are in the chair).

EPC has now led to close cooperation among the nine foreign ministers and foreign offices. The ministers meet at least six times a year and the political committee meets once a month for a two-day session.

Then there are over 100 working party meetings a year as well as meetings of EEC ambassadors or representatives at international organisations and intensive direct telex interchange between the foreign ministries.

The EEC was represented at the conference on security and at world-wide conferences on economic and energy questions.

It has established a common Mediterranean policy (the EEC agreements with Israel and the Maghreb and Maschrek states); signed an agreement with over 50 developing countries; regulated its relationship with the United States; entered into official relations with the People's Republic of China; and signed cooperation agreements with several countries.

A European-Arab dialogue was begun in 1974 and later an attempt was made to reach a joint position on the Palestine question.

There have been joint EEC positions in UN debates on the Middle East.

Opinions differ on the effectiveness of the EPC. Walter Hallstein observed that there was "no agreement, no obligations, no speaking with one voice."

An essay on the potential effectiveness and structure of the EPC takes a more positive view. It talks of coordination customs which come close to being customary law.

The coordination reflected increasingly close routine cooperation and consultation on foreign policy which made possible a harmonisation of diplomatic foreign relations among the nine.

EPC passed its acid test at the conference for security and cooperation in Europe at Helsinki.

In Middle East and Africa policy, the EPC struggles. The greatest challenge it has met so far will be the decision on a joint EEC attitude to the boycott of the Moscow Olympics. *Heinz Stadlmann*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 January 1980)

A boost for Turkey

Bonn is to give Turkey further aid from its development budget, as well as aid for military expenditure.

It will also supply Turkey with military equipment, mainly anti-tank devices, ammunition and food supplies. Most of this will come from Bundeswehr stocks.

The Bundeswehr will provide 80 per cent new material and 20 per cent used material. The Bonn Ministry of Defence estimates the value of this aid at between DM380 and DM560 million.

Since 1974 Turkey has received DM1bn from the Federal Republic of Germany. The most recent agreement expired in December 1979. With this aid, to be financed from the Foreign Ministry Budget, the Turks could build arms factories and repair workshops.

Bonn decided to increase its defence spending by DM1bn on January 31. This means that is will have gone a long way towards meeting Nato and US wishes for a 3 per cent increase in defence spending in 1980.

In the event of US troops leaving central Europe for deployment in the Middle East, the Federal Republic of Germany would be prepared to provisionally stop this gap by calling up reservists and carrying the additional costs.

Defence Minister Hans Apel expects that the Bundestag will decide by 1984 at the latest how the shortage of conscripts in coming years will be dealt with.

The Ministry has four options: more soldiers serving short terms, more deployment of women, longer military service or a combination of all three.

Dieter von König

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 1 February 1980)

Global events overtake Bonn, East Berlin

The icy depression in international relations following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan has hit relations between Bonn and East Berlin.

The long-awaited meeting between the Bonn Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, and the GDR leader, Erich Honecker, is off — at Moscow's insistence.

It was to have taken place sometimes early this year.

The Brezhnev doctrine clearly applies. Neither Prague nor East Berlin can make decisions independently of Moscow — especially not in the present crisis.

It was Honecker who expressed the wish that the meeting be postponed indefinitely in 1980. No secret is made of this.

It is furthermore entirely logical that the Chancellor, who spoke to Honecker even before his visit to President Carter, should fully appreciate Honecker's situation.

Erich Honecker simply cannot afford to allow a wisp of a suspicion to arise that his position may differ a fraction of an inch from Moscow's.

German summits are always a headache. They seem to depend on international fair weather, even though especially now, with the invasion of Afghanistan and increasing support for an Olympic boycott, they are more necessary than ever.

Whenever there is a world crisis, both German states are affected.

Honecker and his team also know this perfectly well. At least one positive aspect of the East Berlin move is the manner of it.

It was done without propaganda fanfare, quietly and discreetly. Erich Honecker gives the impression that he regrets the postponement brought about by an act of Moscow and that he continues to hope for a summit meeting sometime later this year.

In their mutual interest this should take place uner "the most favourable possible circumstances."

The aim of this would be to rescue what can still be rescued in relations between the Germanies.

It was not stated in so many words, but there is no doubt that Moscow would like to freeze relations between the East Bloc and West Germany at the moment.

The dependence of both German states on their respective big allies is so great that the result of the American-Soviet crisis will decide the fate of the German summit meeting — one way or the other. *Fritz Lucke*

(Nordwest Zeitung, 31 January 1980)

Strauss has talks in Bucharest

Every nation should have the right to decide freely on its own development "without interference from outside," Rumanian head of state Ceausescu has told a press conference in Bucharest.

The conference was held after Ceausescu and Shadow Chancellor Franz Josef Strauss had had talks lasting 3½ hours on the world situation in the aftermath of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Although the usually reserved Ceausescu did not mention Afghanistan when he and Strauss talked to the press, he emphasised the importance of the principle of independence for all countries "based on equality and respect".

Strauss mentioned the following three points as important conclusions in their talks:

1. Developments in world politics had not become easier in the past three months.

2. There was no reason to stoke the fire. On the contrary, it was important to take every opportunity of a realistic detente policy.

3. Military conflicts would be "dangerous in the rest of world, disastrous in Europe."

Ceausescu, who was meeting Strauss for the first time, treated him with great amiability.

A Rumanian diplomat said that the lengths of the talks alone was "noteworthy."

The taciturn Ceausescu's joint appearance with Strauss at the press conference was a special gesture. After exactly 3½ hours of talks Strauss and Ceausescu came out of the Rumanian head of state's office.

When Strauss commented on the large number of journalists waiting for them, Ceausescu replied: "With such a guest."

Strauss said: "But I am neither the President of the United States nor of China."

To which Ceausescu answered: "But Bavaria is also a strong country."

Strauss had been given an equally friendly welcome by Ceausescu that morning. Ceausescu asked Strauss how he felt in Rumania and Strauss replied: "Almost as if I were in Munich."

Ceausescu asked: "Is it so cold in Munich?" Strauss: "The cold is not the only connection between us at this time."

The two politicians then sat down in green armchairs with the interpreter between them.

After the talks, Strauss said that they were both aware that they came from different social systems, but he had learnt three important things, especially because of Ceausescu's knowledge of developments in Africa.

Keen hunters Ceausescu and Strauss were both thinking of Africa mainly but not exclusively in political terms: Strauss brought Ceausescu a precision hunting rifle as a present. Ceausescu counts two elephants among his hunting trophies, as Strauss pointed out.

The Rumanians gave a dinner for their German guests in the castle of King Michael, the last king of Rumania.

At this dinner Ceausescu's deputy Stefan Voitec, in the presence of Rumanian foreign minister Andrei, for the first time indirectly condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

M. Schell

(Die Welt, 30 January 1980)

■ NAZIS

Police serve notice on 'sport group' in early morning raid

A neo-Nazi para-military organisation known as the "sport group" has been banned.

The notice enforcing the ban was served on the group's leader, Karl Heinz Hoffmann, on 30 January, the date of Hitler's assumption of power in 1933.

Hoffmann was sleeping at his villa in Heroldsburg, near Nuremberg, when police woke him at 5.30am to give him the banning document.

He drew his pistol, but did not fire.

The ease of the police operation does not say much for the efficiency of Hoffmann's guards, who were keeping watch.

The ban was agreed between Bonn and the Länder on 16 January.

"Steel-helmet" Hoffmann, 42, has appeared on TV several times wearing SS uniforms with the death's head emblem on the left collar.

Swoop date 'just a coincidence'

Though Herr Baum said the date of the police swoop was just coincidence, Hoffmann is unlikely to agree. In an article in his magazine *Kommando*, published in Heidelberg, he wrote: "'How much longer, boss?' my young comrades often ask me, sometimes jokingly, sometimes with a serious undertone.

"'Lads,' I say 'we are weak; our posi-



tion at the moment is completely hopeless, worse than it has ever been for our goals. But that will not prevent us fighting the fight. No! In the end, victory will be ours.'"

Now instead of taking over power on 30 January, the group was banned. The police also confiscated the equipment and military hardware the group used on its manoeuvres.

Hoffmann and his men had gathered an impressive arsenal of war and other military equipment, some of it admittedly fairly old.

The Bonn Ministry of the Interior said it did not know where the equipment came from.

The German Press Agency (dpa) said that the military sport group had steel helmets, gas masks, bayonets, camouflage suits, pistols with ammunition, an old armoured track-type vehicle and and old gun carriage.

Hoffmann's group, founded in 1973, soon made news with its military escapades. The "Heil Hoffmann" greeting soon hit the headlines but was dismissed as mere political clownery.

Then there were the chants: "Who are we?" — "Europe's Grenadiers." "What are we fighting for?" — "The victory of the movement."

Somewhere in a backroom "Steel helmet" Hoffmann and 15 or 20 of his men were meeting under the swastika and pictures of the Führer, spouting vigorous Nazi slogans.

Hoffmann's paramilitary sport group first appeared in the Office for the Protection of the Constitution's annual report in 1974, under the heading "neo-Nazi activities."

Newspapers and television reported on the group's manoeuvres, in which they practised unarmed combat and military exercises in battledress.

The 1974 annual report also mentioned the group's manifesto and programme, which were both clearly unconstitutional.

The present ban on the group is based on the manifesto and programme.

Two years later, in 1976, the group had got hold of a disused tank, a number of military motor cycles, a crawler truck and other military equipment.

A *Stern* magazine article showed Hoffmann in officer's uniform entering his "headquarters", the door of which was flanked by two sentries presenting arms.

The 1976 Office for the Protection of the Constitution report described pioneer and rubber dinghy exercises, using Borgward and Hanomag transport vehicles.

It also observed group military ceremonies. The Hoffmann group featured as "heavies" in extreme right-wing gatherings in Tübingen.

It was discovered that Hoffmann had been fined DM8,000 for offences against the law banning Nazi uniforms. The fine was later said to have been paid by Gerhard Frey, editor of the *Deutsche Nationale Zeitung*, "for reasons of solidarity."

The Hoffmann group now sees its main function as acting as "heavies" or bouncers at neo-Nazis gatherings.

Their SA is not, as under the Nazis, the Sturm section, but the Stamm section.

The hard core of right-wing revolutionaires is estimated to be 70 by the Office for the Protection of the Constitution.

The number of members, all of whom are kept under close observation, is about 400.

The group's activities were originally confined to Bavaria, but they were spread throughout the country before the ban.

The magazine *Kommando* appeared at irregular intervals and the print run was a few thousand copies, many of which were sent abroad.

Hoffmann's group has become a point of crystallisation for extreme right-wingers in the past two years.

Baum said they could not yet be described as a terrorist conspiracy, but the trend was in that direction, especially as there has been an alarming increase in right-wing acts of violence recently.

The fanatical and vain troop commander is by no means finished by the ban. He will probably fight it in the administrative courts.

Volkmar Hoffmann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 31 January 1980)

Letter calls for People's Court officials to face murder charges

Berlin Justice Senator Gerhard Moritz Meyer and three dozen professors in Berlin now want the judges of the Berlin People's Court, which operated in the Third Reich, to be tried for murder and perversion of justice.

The People's Court handed out 5,000 death sentences in the Hitler era.

In an open letter, the professors called upon the Justice Senator and his Prosecutor-General to re-open investigations into this, the most terrible court in the Third Reich.

The professors describe the court as a murder machine, which is what it was.

There was general agreement, except in post-war West German legal circles, about the true nature of this court. It was founded in 1934 after the burning of the Reichstag, and Hitler forced it more and more into the role of a court of terror against his political opponents.

Judges had to be 'reliable'

Their judgments had to conform to national socialist interpretations. The judges had to be reliable, which meant that only fanatical Nazis were appointed.

As a special court the People's Court passed death sentences regularly according to special laws.

The ground for judgment often consisted of only one sentence.

The legal basis for these sentences were laws against subversion of military morale, defeatism and other vague concepts.

A Catholic chaplain, for instance, was executed for a "defeatist joke." A sister of Erich Maria Remarque, author of the famous anti-war novel "All Quiet of the Western Front", was executed simply because the Nazis could not get their hands on her brother.

Berlin playwright Richard Düwel had made the remark that films those days were all the same, they all had to be served up with brown sauce.

A denouncer told Goebbels, who passed the matter on to the People's Court. Düwel was hanged.

West German historians, politicians and the media have always seen the People's Court as what it was: a Nazi instrument of terror in the guise of justice, a murder weapon disguised in a judge's robe and wig.

Our legal system — and only our legal system — took a different view, and it was responsible for trying former People's Court judges.

But not one of the 300 judges who worked for the court was sentenced. One People's Court judge, Hans Joachim Rehse, was tried three times. The third time he was acquitted.

Two courts, including the *Bundesgerichtshof* (Federal Supreme Court) in Karlsruhe, have said that the Nazis' People's Court was a genuine and independent court — an incredible interpretation.

People's Court presiding judge Roland Freisler, killed by a burning wooden



beam in an air raid in 1945, used to walk into the judges' chamber after cases with the words "off with his head"

And during the case he made it clear to the accused that the indictment did not really matter, that they were wasting their time putting up a defence. There was no form of appeal against the court's judgments.

And our post-war courts described this as a genuine and legal court.

A judicial privilege according to which People's Court judges practically could not be found guilty of the perversion of justice, let alone of murder through the perversion of justice, meant that trials were hopeless.

To prove that justice had been perverted it was not enough to prove that the judge had knowingly and deliberately taken the risk of making a false judgment.

Instead, post-war judges insisted that deliberate intent had to be proved; that is the deliberate intention to pronounce false sentence. It is practically impossible to prove this unless the accused admits this.

It is interesting to note that 50 former People's Court judges continued their careers as judges after the war.

The requirement to prove deliberate intent was changed in 1974. On the basis of this and more recent judgments by the Federal Supreme Court, there was hope that it would today be possible to sentence former People's Court judges.

Connections between pre and post war justice which made many blind to the true nature of the People's Court in the 50s and 60s, the *esprit de corps* of the legal profession, the media's disinterest and resignation that these judges went scot-free — all this is now over.

Almost the only reason for this is the change in generations. But that is also the reason why there is something tragic about this belated attempt to bring these murderers in legal robes to justice and come to terms with this chapter of the Nazi past: the former People's Court judges are almost all dead.

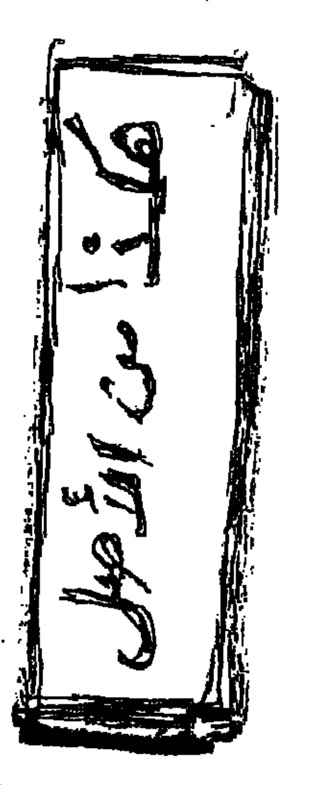
The first thing to be done before proceedings start would be to find out if any are still alive. And if there are they will hardly be fit to stand trial, let alone serve sentence.

It is too late. This country missed the chance to bring these judges to justice, particularly in the 50s.

The move by the Berlin professors has only an admonitory, symbolic value. It makes us more aware of the murderous absurdity of the Third Reich and again reminds us that here murderers went free because they wore legal robes.

Alfons Heutgens

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 3 February 1980)



■ MINORITY GROUPS

Frankfurt the centre for a wave of 'political refugees'

Frankfurt has become the target for an avalanche of applications from people seeking political asylum.

Most of the applicants are from the Indian sub-continent.

The number of applications has risen from 4,000 at the end of November to 6,000 at the end of January (excluding another 20,000 to 30,000 illegal immigrants).

Applicants from India top the list, followed by those from Bangladesh, Pakistan, Turkey and Sri Lanka.

There were not many Afghans — until recently. But they have been flooding in since the Soviet invasion.

Afghans accounted for about 70 per cent of the 400 asylum seekers who arrived in the city in January.

Bonn MP Georg Schlage (SPD), who was in Kabul lecturing on détente when the Russians occupied the city, said: "Afghanistan is now seeing the world's biggest flood of refugees, even greater than in Cambodia."

An extreme example of an asylum seeker is a woman who was seen loitering around Frankfurt's main railway station.

It turned out that the young African woman was not only a prostitute but she had also applied for political asylum and was getting DM170 a month social welfare — plus the cost of a double room in a hotel, complete with breakfast.

Due to our data protection legislation and due to medical secrecy, it later turned out, the health authorities told the social welfare office nothing about the prostitute, who claimed that she had had to leave her country for political reasons.

She told the police: "I like it here, so I'm going to stay."

Frankfurt city fathers are groaning under an ever-growing burden of social welfare spending which, in 1979, amounted to DM10 million.

And that notwithstanding the fact that a large majority of asylum applicants are seeking a haven in this country for economic rather than political reasons.

All they want is to make as much money as possible. Most are gullible and poor illiterates who have been tricked by unscrupulous wheeler-dealers who try to circumvent German asylum legislation (vaunted as the most generous and exemplary in Europe) in what can only be termed latterday slave trade.

Nation-wide, only 5 per cent of the applicants are recognised as facing persecution at home for political or religious reasons.

The other 95 per cent (mostly young men), who arrive in this country as tourists, are turned down in court hearings which frequently extend over eight years. They are then deported to their home countries.

But these seven or eight years are enough to enable them to collect 100 times as much as a skilled worker gets in their home countries, living on city welfare.

During a recent raid in Frankfurt, the police caught an Indian living here without a residence permit who, back home in a tiny village, had never heard of Germany let alone asylum.

But in Bombay he had been approached by one of the "slave dealers" who told him that Germany was a land of milk and honey and talked him into paying 13,000 rupees (DM3,200) plus several hundred dollars for the fares to get him to that promised land.

To raise the money, the poor Indian had to mortgage everything he possessed to a local loan shark.

As soon as these people arrive in Germany they are accosted at the airport by dealers offering to file asylum applications at a cost of between DM100 and DM200.

The favourite destinations in Germany are Frankfurt, Munich, Hamburg, Düsseldorf and Berlin.

The German lawyers stoutly deny that they have any links with the dealers abroad as the authorities have suspected for a long time but have never been able to prove.

Says Frankfurt's Mayor Walter Wallmann: "Most of these people arrive with the address of a German lawyer in their pocket."

And a senior Berlin police officer recently commented: "Without cooperation from a few unscrupulous German lawyers, the dealers abroad could never have gained a foothold in this country."

West Berlin enjoys a special position because the asylum seekers can enter the city from East Berlin without any passport controls simply by using the city transit system.

At the hearings they all claim that they were members of the opposition at home and therefore politically persecuted.

And should there be a putsch in their country in the meantime, bringing the former opposition to power, they instantly switch their plea and become supporters of the former government.

Says Hesse Minister of the Interior Ekkehard Gries: "They only pretend they are being persecuted at home because they want to collect welfare money while their cases go from court to court."

The applicants themselves keep quiet in the hearings or resort to stout denials — especially when asked about the shysters who handle their applications or the traders in human flesh at home. They fear that they will be beaten up if they talk.

Frankfurt, a city with 200,000 foreigners, has no way of avoiding paying social welfare to fraudulent asylum seekers.

Once an asylum application has been filed, it must take its course and the city is obliged under the Constitution to provide welfare, shelter, clothing and medical assistance for as long as these applicants stay in the country pending a final court ruling.

Germany's generous asylum legislation was largely influenced by this country's experience during the Nazi era. The right to asylum therefore enjoys high moral priority.

"Nobody wants to change this. But if genuine asylum seekers are not to suffer, we muust prevent abuse by shortening the recognition procedure. This should not take seven years, but only a few weeks," says Hesse CDU spokesman W. D. Firmhaber.

A shortening of the procedure would also prevent other dangerous side effects such as extortionate rents for housing unfit for human habitation, sickness, unemployment and loitering in the midst of an affluent, liberal society.

All this is social dynamite and breeds crime — especially drug trafficking.

Public Prosecutor Karl Heinrich Hentschel says: "We live under the rule of law and there is no other way we can proceed.

It's impossible for us to handle an saylum application within nine months. In this way we could never put an end to those who traffick in human flesh. The problem can also not be solved by the police. What we need is a fundamental political decision."

Wilhelm Körber

(Die Welt, 26 January 1980)

Bid rejected for Romany language broadcasts

An application by German gypsies to have radio broadcasts in the Romany language has been turned down.

The reason given is that there would not be enough listeners.

Sintis, as German gypsies are known, are worried that the young generation will lose contact with the language and eventually forget the unwritten laws governing the Sinti society.

And if the language is lost, they argue, their identity as a people will also be lost. Many Sintis would have to give up the old way of life and settle among non-Gypsies.

Necessity has on occasion forced the Sintis to deny their heritage and pass themselves off as Italians or Spaniards because this made it easier to find housing and work and reduce the problems their children had at school, says Romani Rose, an executive member of the German Sinti Association.

More and more Sintis have lately joined civil rights movements to work against discrimination in a world of non-Gypsies, to preserve their cultural heritage and to permit non-Gypsies to participate in it.

All this led to the founding in Freiburg a couple of weeks ago of the German Sinti Union. Together with the Sinti Association, the new organisation wants to work for the implementation of the constitutionally guaranteed rights of the 70,000 Sintis in this country.

Honorary Sinti social workers are to help their people solve problems in a German environment.

Officially, the Sintis are referred to as "itinerants" and are almost invariably discriminated against at German camping sites.

The German Camping Club has signs at its various sites saying that Gypsies are unwelcome for the sake of other users who have a right to an undisturbed holiday.

But even Sintis who have given up their itinerant life and have settled down are not much better off.

They usually live on the periphery of cities among factories and garbage dumps where they can hardly make a living.

There are, however, a few rays of light. One of them is what is known as the Freiburg model. That city, supported by the *Land* government of Baden-Württemberg, has established a kindergarten, a school and a cultural centre, workshops and housing for the Sintis — and all in the midst of a German settlement.

The Sintis themselves played a major role in the Freiburg model when they left the housing allocated to them just outside the city and settled among Germans. Later, they had a hand in the planning of their housing.

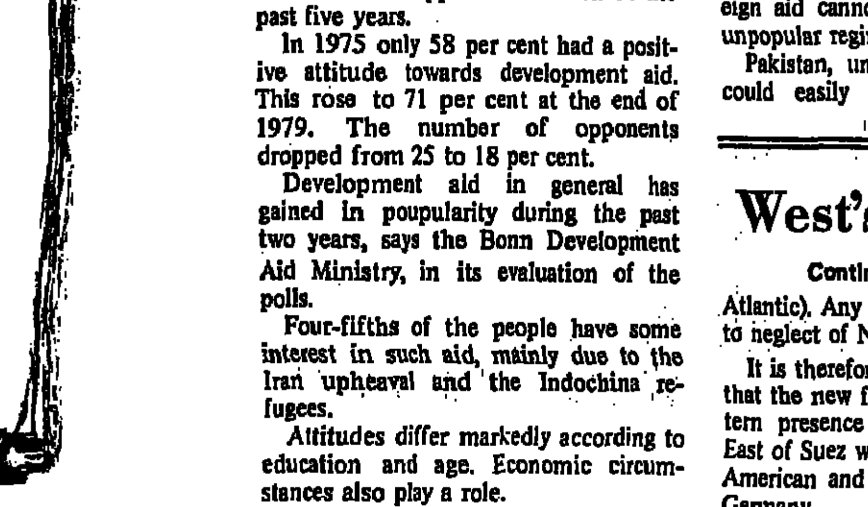
The Sinti Union and the German Sinti Association want to promote the Freiburg model nation-wide. They also demand German passports for all Sintis and the rescindment of discriminatory regulations.

They seek recognition for their way of life, their mentality and customs as well as for their language. They want to be free to travel and use camping sites.

They also demand the same restitution as was awarded to Jews. The authorities have frequently tried to prevent compensation payments to Sintis by using dubious subterfuges.

Some 500,000 Gypsies were killed under the Nazi regime. *epd*

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 19 January 1980)



■ THE THIRD WORLD

Industrialised nations look for advantage

Western industrialised nations have been trying to gain political advantage from the East-South conflict ever since a vast majority of Third World countries condemned in the United Nations the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

The considerations behind this Third World offensive have been strategic. The focus has been on the Islamic countries along the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean.

The brutal attack by the Soviet Union against the Moslem rebels in Afghanistan must of necessity strengthen the resistance of the Islamic world against any domination, including the expansion of Soviet influence.

But the "Carter Doctrine", which reiterates America's claim to the Persian Gulf, has also caused unrest.

In its new containment policy towards Moscow, the West pins its hopes on



strategically important countries such as Turkey and Pakistan.

Bonn has decided on initial reactions to the Afghanistan situation.

Led by the Federal Republic of Germany, the member nations of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) are planning more assistance for Turkey.

Only last summer, this Nato country received emergency aid of DM1bn.

As a direct neighbour of Afghanistan, Pakistan is to receive support in refinancing its present US$600m debts, which are to be converted into long-term credits.

In concert with the European Community, Bonn wants to develop its technical cooperation with the countries of the Gulf region along the lines of its cooperation with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries.

Following the Afghanistan shock, there is, however, a danger that the Western development policy offensive will bog down in the traditional ideas of North-South policy.

The efforts of policy makers to obtain more aid for the Third World progressed extremely slowly for a long time.

Now, all of a sudden, we have rediscovered our poor brethren — but we only see them in the light of the East-West conflict.

Though this is understandable given the present crisis, past experience should serve as a warning against a global Western strategy that helps to stabilise military dictatorships in the Third World.

Iran has shown that even massive foreign aid cannot cement the rule of an unpopular regime.

Pakistan, under General Zia ul-Haq, could easily turn into another Iran, though in a different way. A massive aid for Pakistan could arouse the suspicions of India's new government.

But the Afghanistan crisis could also prove an opportunity for a new type of development aid independent of strategic considerations.

If this is to materialise we would have to realise that Western interests are best served by continuous economic assistance that would promote indigenous development in the Third World.

This would presuppose that the sudden interest in the developing nations does not fade away as soon as the present international conflict is settled.

Bundestag MP Uwe Holtz (SPD) thus rightly called for a "concept without haste."

He holds that the development policy offensive calls for stepped up public sector aid but not for a re-distribution of funds in favour of the strategically important countries. He therefore demands "continuous and substantially increased foreign aid."

Bonn Development Aid Minister Rainer Offergeld defended his government's position against opposition demands in the Bundestag, saying: "Development policy combats poverty and thus strengthens the independence of Third World countries. It is not alliance policy with different means."

The industrialised countries will soon have an opportunity to prove that their newly discovered interest in the Third World will survive beyond the Afghanistan shock.

If any progress is to be made in the North-South dialogue during the next decade, the Western industrialised world will have to be prepared to make concessions.

The present United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) conference in New Delhi shows that the North-South conflict has remained virtually unchanged.

And despite the progress made in Gatt, the Third World nations still reject the selective protective clauses with which Western countries want to ward off cheap imports from the Third World.

There is still a great deal of dynamite in North-South relations that will overlay the Soviet defeat in the UN unless the West rethinks.

Roland Krönke

(Vorwärts, 31 January 1980)

Public support foreign help

Germans in general approve of development aid and would be prepared to tighten their belts for it, according to polls by Infratest.

Of the 18 to 24-year-olds, 51 per cent favour of such aid and willing to make personal sacrifices.

The question asked was: would you forgo a tax relief of DM13 a month? — 44 per cent said yes, 40 per cent no and 15 per cent were undecided.

This was the first time such a question had been asked, so it is impossible to establish whether views have changed.

But comparisons about foreign aid in general and dating back to 1975 show that the basic approval has risen in the past five years.

In 1975 only 58 per cent had a positive attitude towards development aid. This rose to 71 per cent at the end of 1979. The number of opponents dropped from 25 to 18 per cent.

Development aid in general has gained in poupularity during the past two years, says the Bonn Development Aid Ministry, in its evaluation of the polls.

Four-fifths of the people have some interest in such aid, mainly due to the Iran upheaval and the Indochina refugees.

Attitudes differ markedly according to education and age. Economic circumstances also play a role.

According to the ministry, "those who have a feeling that they are doing well in our country are more likely to approve of aid than those who are sceptical about our economic position. Ultimately, development policy is a 'fair weather policy'."

Still, 41 per cent hold that the state must under no circumstances cut back on development aid (1975: 8 per cent).

The poll's assessment of Bonn's development aid policy has also improved markedly: 53 per cent (1977: 46) approved and 25 per cent (27) rejected it.

FDP voters topped the list for approvals aid with 89 per cent (69).

Heinz Heck

(Die Welt, 25 January 1980)

West's priorities

Continued from page 2

Atlantic). Any extension would only lead to neglect of Nato's function in Europe.

It is therefore also pretty much agreed that the new forces needed for the Western presence in the Middle East and East of Suez will not be withdrawn from American and British units stationed in Germany.

The new task force would have to be newly established in America itself. This has already been begun.

President Carter has just ordered draft registration. This does not mean the reintroduction of the draft though it facilitates it should it become necessary.

And since registration enables the armed forces to talk to individual registrees, many might be induced to enlist.

Washington is also considering prevailing on Bonn to fill its maximum peacetime strength of the armed forces, which is 500,000 men. There is still room for another 5,000.

One possibility spoken of lately is to expand the German navy and to build 12 instead of six new frigates.

The additional six ships could patrol around Norway and the Mediterranean and thus release British and American vessels for the Indian Ocean.

Little has so far been said about side effects of the Western containment strategy. And what about effects on the Third World? Aid for Pakistan could drive India into the Soviet camp.

Strengthening Turkey could upset relations with Greece and aggravate the Cyprus and Aegean conflicts.

Cooperation with the Gulf States — especially if this includes Kuwait and Iraq — will affect relations with Israel.

Economic and military aid and Western military presence with the attendant search for suitable bases could kindle regional conflicts unless care is taken.

Therefore, what is needed (again coordinated) to prevent such side effects and solve conflicts where possible is Western mediation — patterned perhaps on the joint Western conflict settlement and mediation actions in Namibia and Rhodesia.

Günther Gillessen

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 26 January 1980)

A new deal on aid allocations

The financial support now conte[...] plated by Bonn for strategically i[...] portant Third World countries calls fo[...] reshuffling of development aid or [...] higher payments.

So far, concrete figures are only av[...] able for the assistance to Turkey a[...] Pakistan.

When Lower Saxony's Finance Mi[...] ister Walther Leisler Kiep last year [...] gotiated an emergency package [...] Turkey to be provided by the OEC[...] the Federal Republic of Germany wa[...] contribute DM380m. This has m[...] while been done in the form of good[...]

Bonn estimates that the new meas[...] now being discussed will be at lea[...] big.

Though government spokes[...] Grünewald refused to mention fig[...] when briefing the press after the la[...] cabinet session, he did say that it wo[...] not be peanuts.

According to the Bonn Developme[...] Aid Ministry, Turkey had receiv[...] DM2.93bn in capital aid and DM16[...] in technical aid by the end of 1979.

To start with, Pakistan would prima[...] ly receive support in the form of re[...] nancing of its loans. This involves [...] total of US$600m in principal and inte[...] est. The refinancing is to provide Pak[...] tan with some breathing space.

That country is the second largest re[...] cipient after India of non-repayab[...] German development aid.

It has so far received capital aid [...] DM1.755bn and technical aid [...]



DM105.6m; DM30m was approved i[...] 1979.

Bonn development aid experts take [...] for granted that India — due to its riv[...] ry with Pakistan — cannot be l[...] empty-handed if Pakistan receives su[...] port.

In 1979, India received DM5.31bn [...] financial aid and DM404.5m in techn[...] cal assistance.

Development Aid Minister Rainer O[...] fergeld, who is to visit New Delhi shor[...] ly as head of the German delegation [...] UNIDO, is likely to hear a word or t[...] of exhortation when talking to Ind[...] politicians.

According to Bonn experts, the [...] continued aid to Afghanistan will rele[...] relatively little in funds.

German development aid exper[...] working there were withdrawn for saf[...] reasons before the actual crisis began.

German aid was suspended from [...] January.

The money withheld amounts to on[...] a few million. Besides, it cannot be us[...] for other purposes as long as the aid [...] only suspended.

Afghanistan has so far been award[...] DM400m financial and DM220m [...] technical aid.

The envisaged cooperation betwe[...] the European Community and the G[...] States (including Iraq) probably concer[...] more technical cooperation against [...] ment than actual development aid.

This is to be modelled on the coop[...] ration with the ASEAN countries: Tha[...] land, Singapore, Indonesia, Malaysia an[...] the Philippines.

(Handelsblatt, 25 January 1980)

■ THE ECONOMY

Hopes over energy, doubts on productivity

Bonn is convinced that there will be no dramatic worsening in energy supplies this year.

This belief will be one of the main factors governing the findings of the Cabinet's annual economic report.

It is not yet known what growth figure is to be aimed for but the most likely figure is somewhere between 2 per cent and 2.5 per cent.

The report, being worked out amid growing political and economic tensions, will deal with growth target, employment and monetary stability.

Following preliminary talks between the government departments concerned, Bonn is now convinced that no dramatic deterioration in that sector is to be expected this year.

But this clearly presupposes a peaceful settlement of the Middle East crisis.

The following figures are likely to occur in the report:

Economic growth: faced with the widely differing projections of economic research institutes, the Advisory Council of Economists and the OECD, Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff decided to split the difference between the pessimists and the optimists.

Though it is not yet know what growth figure will finally be given in the report, it is bound to range between 1.5 and three per cent.

The most likely figure, however, is between two and 2.5 per cent. This will take into account the 1.5 per cent "overhang" from last year and the favourable course the economy has taken up to now.

Employment: due to the high birth rate years that are now beginning to crown the labour market, employment is likely to rise slightly.

Averaged out for the year, it is assumed that the unemployment rate of slightly less than 4 per cent in 1979 will remain roughly the same, i.e. an average of 880,000.

The development of productivity is still uncertain. Last year it rose by 3.1 per cent (slightly less than forecast) because employment rose faster than production.

Inflation: due to rising oil prices and higher commodity costs the government considers that monetary stability is particularly in danger.

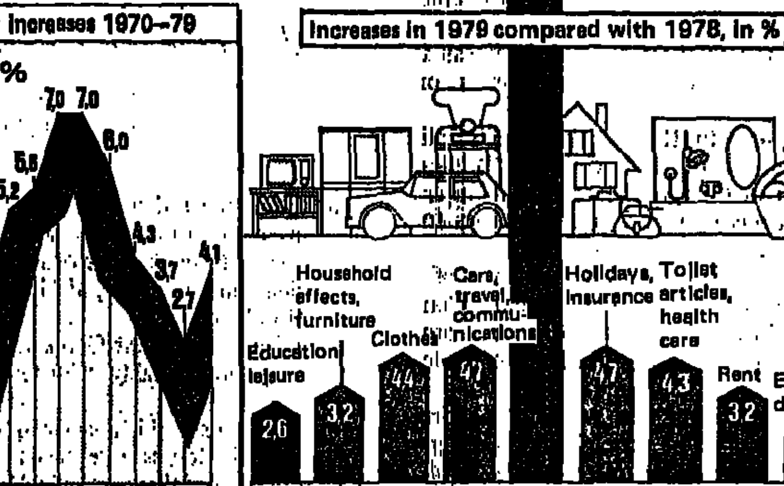
From today's vantage point, an inflation rate of 4.5 to 5 per cent would seem inevitable. The economic policy part of the report attributes great significance to inflation.

For the rest, the Bonn government still maintains that there will be no no likelihood of a crisis in 1980.

Investment: for Count Lambsdorff, the development of investments is a key question that will govern future economic development.

Last year, business investments rose by 10 per cent in real terms, and investors have remained surprisingly buoyant.

This is probably due to improved business profits. Assuming that 1980 wage deals will be somewhat higher than those of 1979, the Economic Affairs Ministry anticipates a 6 to 7 per cent rise in investments.



It holds that the further course of the economy will largely depend on whether or not management views the new round of wage talks as a reversal of last year's development.

Foreign trade: because of the unclear position and the recession among some of our major trading partners, Count Lambsdorff assumes that the economic impulses from outside will weaken.

World trade is expected to grow by only 3 per cent. German exports, however, can expect a 4 to 5 per cent growth rate. Last year's current account deficit of DM7b to DM8bn is likely to rise to DM16bn to DM18bn this year — primarily due to higher oil prices.

Oil supply: in view of the large stockpiles and the commitment by Saudi Arabia and other oil producers, there is no likelihood of a crisis in 1980.

But in the medium term, bottlenecks could occur. The oil price in real terms will probably remain unchanged this year, but beyond that the public and business should be prepared for price increases because rising world energy consumption will exhaust the oil reserves within a few decades.

The supply risks are further aggravated by political uncertainty in most important producer countries. It is entirely open whether political tension will lead to a further increase of stockpiles and whether the oil-producing nations will reduce their production in the face of growing demand.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 January 1980)

More pay, holidays

The 1979 round of collective bargaining raised the incomes by an average 4.5 per cent and increased holidays.

A study by the Bonn Labour Ministry shows, that in certain branches of business the lower wage brackets were raised disproportionately.

In many branches of industry, the annual working time decreased.

The study is based on a survey of 17.5 million workers and shows that for one-third the 1979 round of bargaining led to six weeks' annual holidays to be introduced gradually over the next few years. Before, only 2 per cent were entitled to six or more weeks.

Already, 93 per cent were entitled to holiday money, and Christmas bonuses were paid to 77 per cent. For 60 per cent this bonus amounted to a full month's salary.

Savings subsidies by the employer were almost general in 1979; 19 per cent received the full DM52 a month, enabling them to make full use of the government savings subsidy.

This figure will rise to 49 per cent this year.

(Die Welt, 30 January 1980)

Plans for tax relief 'in jeopardy'

Plans for a tax relief packages next years are in jeopardy because Bonn faces heavier cash commitments outside the Federal Republic of Germany, say economic observers.

The extra cash, in the wake of the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan, will involve, among others, Turkey and Pakistan.

So, according to current opinion, the even more extensive liberalising plans for tax proposed by the opposition are even less likely to be feasible.

This applies in particular to improvements in the family policy sector. But plans for a reform of the taxation rate are likely to be pursued further.

A supplementary budget for 1980 is already under discussion. At present this involves about DM1.7bn.

Bonn intends to increase defence spending by DM1bn. This money will be used to offset increased oil costs, to improve ammunition supplies and for the earlier implementation of an improved infrastructure in connection with the restructuring of the army.

Bonn would this partly meet its Nato commitment to increase its 1980 military budget by at least 3 per cent.

The supplementary budget is also likely to include another DM400m for the international stabilisation programme for Turkey and the first DM240m portion for the final settlement of compensation for Jewish victims of the Nazi regime.

As part of the international division of labour among Nato partners and Japan for the stabilisation of the global balance of power, now under discussion within the Alliance, Germany will be faced with considerably larger financial burdens. So far, Bonn has offered:

- Additional aid for Turkey under a second international stabilisation programme;
- Increased armaments aid for Turkey and Greece;
- Refinancing assistance and extensive credits for Pakistan and participation in aiding the hundreds of thousands of Afghan refugees.
- Additional development aid for India and Thailand and generally stepped up efforts in development policy;
- Contributions for the stabilisation of southern Africa, especially Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and Namibia after independence.

Although the Bonn Finance Ministry is still reserved, political circles are certain that these measures will considerably narrow the financial scope — especially in view of the amount that has to be spent in the energy sector, particularly the colossal government programme for coal liquefaction.

Only parts of the additional spending can be offset by a restructuring of the overall budget and the development aid budget which, in 1981, is supposed to be increased by 12.5 per cent anyway.

Apart from the fact that defence spending will grow in the next years, the European Community will also lay claim to considerable additional financing by Bonn.

This country will have to bear a big share of the cost for the enlargement of the Community to include Greece, Portugal and Spain.

Moreover, Bonn will have to bear the lion's share of the cost of providing relief for Britain.

Bonn is interested in a swift settlement of its EEC budget dispute with London, but this would have to be fair. The Community's scope of action, Bonn holds, must be safeguarded.

rtr

(General-Anzeiger, 23 January 1980)

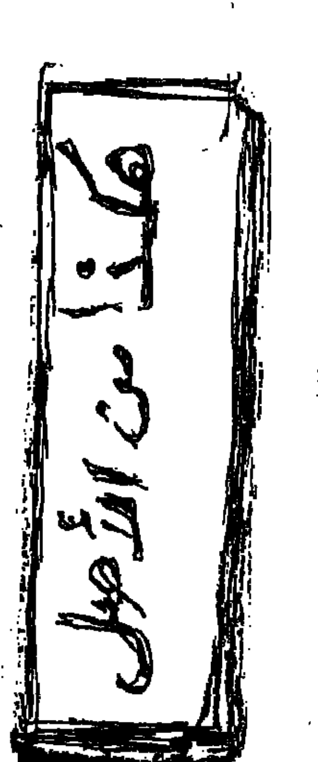
Wages and productivity

Increases against previous year, in %

Wage increases (gross per worker)

Productivity

	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980 (estimated)
Wage increases	+14.7	11.8	8.8	12.0	11.4	7.2	7.0	6.9	5.1	5.5	6.5
Productivity	+4.7	3.0	3.9	4.6	2.4	1.6	6.1	2.9	2.5	3	2



■ DISASTERS

A state of unreadiness, doctors charge

Preparations for catastrophe in the Federal Republic are woefully inadequate, a meeting of German doctors has been told.

And the weakest area of readiness is in treatment of radiation injuries on large scale.

Delegates to the fourth interdisciplinary forum of the German Medical Council in Cologne heard that there are also serious failings in arrangements for supplies and in general organisation.

This criticism comes on the heels of a warning from the German Doctors Conference in Munich that medical and protective measures for disaster are inadequate.

Criticism from the Munich meeting was general. The doctors at Cologne were more specific.

They said that catastrophe control measures in this country are underdeveloped compared to other countries, ministers and MPs, they said, thought that the public should not be worried by too much discussion of this unpleasant subject after the horrors of the last war.

Catastrophe control has thus become a dangerous taboo, making us forget that in a highly technological civilisation there can be many catastrophes which are below the threshold of military conflict but nonetheless serious.

This means special measures need to be taken not only against natural disasters but also against disasters in the chemical industry, the nuclear energy sector and in the transport of all kinds of dangerous substances.

The Cologne doctors did not ask how many people would die or be very seriously injured in the event of a catastrophe.

It is a question more could have answered.

The forum once again warned Parliament to fill the serious gaps in the regulations on catastrophe measures. The doctors went through a list of necessary precaurions and measures, ticking what had still to be done.

They found that West Germany compared very unfavourably with Switzerland.

Professor Koslowski, a surgeon from Tübingen, said it was a scandal that in the entire country there are only 48 beds for patients with severe burns.

The professional associations and the insurance schemes called for the number of beds to be increased to 150 — but ao far without success.

Koslowski said that severe burns could not be treated in ordinary intensive-care units. He said there was no district hospital capable of dealing with more than five patients with severe burns at a time. And no one contradicted him.

The forum reacted stoically to repeated statements that only the main hospitals in this country have worked out alarm and catastrophe plans.

There was approval for the point that chaos at the place of the disaster should not spread along the roads to the next hospital and that this could be avoided with comparatively little planning and organisation.

There was a cool response to a call for doctors to practice catastrophe drill and the extremely difficult but inevitable sorting out of patients according to the seriousness of their injuries.

There were no laws covering the extent of such practice, who should take part or how they should be paid for.

The building of shelters was only mentioned *en passant.* Emergency planners know that these shelters are not only needed in the event of air raids.

One doctor said: "They test the sirens once a year, but one tells the people where to go if there is a disaster."

Doctor Osterwald, president of the Lower Saxony Chamber of Doctors and an expert on civil protection and first-aid services, provided figures.

In this country there is only room in shelters for three out of 100 people. The figure for Switzerland is 90 out of 100.

Interest at the forum was heavily concentrated on the dangers of the use of atomic energy and increased use of radioactive substances in production processes in industry.

Doctors were interested not so much in the political aspects as in a combination of circumstances that could turn a comparatively harmless accident into a disaster.

The population is afraid of invisible dangers. Safety measures outside the reactors themselves seem inadequate.

Furthermore, doctors, at least civilian doctors, have little training in dealing with patients with radiation, injuries.

Professor Messerschmidt, of the Bundeswehr Academy in Munich, and one of the few experts on thermo-nuclear injuries in the country, said that radiation sickness was the most difficult to diagnose and to treat.

It was vital to find out how high the dose of radiation the patient had received.

And this could only be done by time-consuming tests, for which there would probably be no facilities at the place of the disaster.

Messerschmidt said that doctors living near atomic power stations at least should be supplied with simple radiation measurement devices.

Early symptoms of radiation [...] were: sickness, giddiness, vomi[...] diarrhoea, a temperature, and circula[...] problems.

Swiss and German doctors w[...] against comparing a nuclear reactor [...] saster with the explosion of an a[...] bomb.

The dangers were often ove[...] mated. They all stressed that in the [...] of a reactor accident or radiation [...] would always be hours and perhaps [...] in which to sound various degre[...] alarm and introduce special form [...] treatment.

They insisted it was important [...] cuss this publicly.

Their were also warnings about [...] leading to panic in the event of a [...] tor accident. He said hospital acco[...] tion problems could be made even [...] critical if hospitals were besieged [...] people with nothing wrong with [...] except the fear that they were [...] tive.

The doctors also warned about [...] other aspects of catastrophe con[...] giene and the so-called psycholog[...] sponse.

Professor Reber from Basle, [...] the problem of hygiene.

His observations were not encou[...] ing. He said it was everyday experi[...] that the general public had no ide[...] how to use public latrines properly [...] "all you need to do is take a look [...] public camping sites and motorway [...] points."

Doctor Brickenstein of the Bund[...] wehr Hospital in Hamburg called [...] managers, ship's captains, people [...] posts of responsibility and new[...] to be taught about panic reactions [...] can be like contagious diseases.

It was equally important that as [...] people as possible should be [...] about the correct way to behave [...] disaster, to prevent hysteria.

"Keep escape routes open ... inf[...] and instruct. Tell the composed [...] engage in sensible activity and keep [...] others occupied."

He said that the handing out of che[...] ing gum had proved an effective tec[...] que in South America.

There were loud warnings against p[...] fectionism and hopes that heaven w[...] preserve us if possible from any kind [...] catastrophe — especially from ca[...] trophes at the weekend.

Reinhard Bie[...]

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 26 January [...])

Preparing the shelters for a nuclear alert

The Bonn government spends DM100m a year on civilian protection. In the warning stations throughout the country there are 350 full-time, 230 part-time and 1500 voluntary helpers. Civilian protection is coordinated and organised by the Bonn Civilian Protection Office.

In a recent publicity film, a child says to its mother: "There are 61,000 sirens in the country — where do we go when they all go off?"

Warning Station V is in Welz, where the road ends. This station in the Jülich area is where the people of North Rhine Westphalia will be warned from in the event of a nuclear attack. It is a four storey giant underground bunker equipped to withstand an A-bomb strike such as that at Hiroshima.

"Away from the main centres of population," was the motto when these warning stations were built in the sixties.

Deep underground there is a fe[...] activity: four times a month from [...] to 22.00, sometimes for 26 [...] hours, the staff of 130 volunteers [...] full time staff members are t[...] the practice of the warning servi[...] are usually serving soldiers w[...] been transferred to civilian p[...] volunteering to spend 120 hou[...] in this concrete bunker for ten [...]

"This can become very stres[...] time", says warning station [...] Jürgen Schulz: "You can be s[...] the volunteers do not turn u[...] excited and raring to go."

Yet some whose ten years [...] would very much like to go [...] plead to be allowed to do so.

Herr Duchatsch, a teacher of [...] try and biology, started his stint [...] his first term at university b[...] did not want to break off his st[...] do full-time military service. [...]

Continued on page 9

■ RESEARCH

Construction faults on a screen



The 'Thermobile' on the lookout for heat leaks.

(Photos: TÜV Rheinland e. V.)

A whole host of building defects can now be detected by a newly developed technology known as "thermography".

The system was designed, using a computer and a TV screen, to track down faults through photographing and pin-pointing heat loss.

It can also be programmed to calculate how much heat would be saved by improving the insulation and what the resultant financial saving will be.

It works like this:

A special camera equipped with quartz lenses captures the infrared light emitted by a building's facade and conducts it to sensitive semiconductor crystals that release one electron per ray unit.

These electrons are then used to transmit the picture to a TV screen — initially in black and white where the light spots mark high and the dark ones low temperatures.

The measured data are processed by a computer which is programmed to convert the grey shades into colours to give more contrast to the TV picture.

Such cameras are now marketed by several companies. German BP, for instance, has for the past 18 months been offering a mobile thermography unit (Thermotest 2000) which can be used either stationary or motorised or from an aircraft.

The temperature picture this unit provides tracks down shoddy construction work, material fatigue, design errors and functional defects. The analysis of a simple family home costs about DM800.

Another device of this nature has been developed by the *Technischer Überwachungsverein* (TÜV), a non-profit technical supervision organisation.

The project had a DM2m government subsidy and was recently presented to the public.

The "Thermomobile" of TÜV a van equipped with an infrared camera on the roof which is operated from inside and examines facades, electrical installations, piping, etc., tracking down leaks.

The leaks are shown on a TV screen and all relevant data are stored on tape. A computer calculates the loss of heat.

Analysis of a four-storey building (which must be done at night to eliminate interference) takes about 15 minutes and costs about DM350.

This amount covers only the actual costs of the analysis and includes no profit.

Would-be clients are queuing up.

Here is what the costumer gets for his money: photograph of the computerised picture giving information on temperature and heat leaks, the exact location and interpretation of the leaks (frequently where floors join the outer wall) and a computerised report with all relevant figures, including possible savings through better insulation.

The customer is also given concrete suggestions on remedies. He is told whether to install insulated windows or what insulating material to use on the outer walls.

Rhineland TÜV in Cologne is now in the process of developing yet another "tracking dog" for waste of energy and loss of heat.

This vehicle, which will probably be named "Energy Bus" and is expected to become operational in about 18 months, will essentially be a mobile computer centre.

Information previously obtained from the house owner in the form of a questionaire (How much electricity, gas, oil, etc. do you use per year? What is the area of windows, walls, roof, etc.? Are the rooms air-conditioned and at what temperature is the thermostat set?) is run through the computer.

This is then supplemented with actual data obtained on the spot and the house owner is told whether he is wasting energy and, if so, how to economise. The computer programme will be bought in Canada and adapted to European conditions. Canada already has ten such buses in operation and more than 2,000 small and medium sized businesses have been analysed so far. The average energy saving thus achieved was about 20 per cent. Unlike the Thermomobile computer, the Energy Bus installation does not provide a concrete programme with exact remedies. It only tells the owner how much he can save and how to do it.



Television screen linked to a special camera picks out faults in a building.

Some of the suggestions are so obvious that one wonders why a computer is needed to come up with them.

One businessman was told to switch off the air-conditioning during non-business hours. The annual saving was DM30,000.

The Canadian Energy Bus is now touring Europe and was recently demonstrated in the Rhineland.

Michael Globig

(Rheinischer Merkur / Christ und Welt, 25 January 1980)

Continued from page 8

now been working in Welz for 16 years. The equipment there, once regarded as the last word in advanced technology, is now no longer so up to date. Modernisation will not go ahead at a very dramatic pace. Out of their DM100 million budget, the ten warning stations pay 57 million cable rent to the Bundespost. This means only thirty per cent of the total is left for investment. With this the warning station network must be maintained and a radiation-measuring network for the exclusive use of the stations must be set up.

Alarm drill begins at 20.00 hours. In this simulated exercise, it is supposed that there is to be an air attack on Krefeld from the east. The reports now coming in are from the military air defence bunkers, which are manned round the clock. The position of the enemy aircraft is marked with felt-tipped pens on a large wall-map of West Germany.

The shift leader decides whether an air raid alarm should be sounded. The population then has at most fifteen minutes to flee to safety — if that is the correct word. There is adequate shelter space for only three per cent of the country's population. There is no legal basis for the building of shelters and interest in private shelters is very limited even though they are generously subsidised by the Bonn government. It put aside DM8 million for such subsidies last year, of which only DM143,000 was used.

The warning stations with their up-todate equipment (at least when they were built) and timetables with no holidays and no free time for staff on duty, is an important pillar of the civil protection system.

E. Nitschke

(Die Welt, 30 January 1980)

New reactors 'will emit same radiation'

The fusion reactors of the future are likely to emit the same radiation as today's reactors, and there is no likelihood that legally permissible limits will be exceeded.

These are the findings of the Cologne-based Society for Reactor Safety (GRS).

Radiation of fusion reactors results from different types of atoms than those used in today's reactors which draw their energy from fission, it says in a study.

Fusion reactors, on the other hand, derive their energy from the fusion of deuterium and tritium.

A major cause of radiation is the extremely energy-rich neutrons emitted in the course of fusion. They can change other nuclei, producing radiation in the course of this process.

Furthermore, tritium itself is radioactive and can, like any other hydrogen, not be completely encapsulated.

GRS stresses that it is impossible so far to provide exact information since no fusion reactors are in operation, but the designs presented so far permit projections which ca be augmented by experience with fission reactors.

Experts agree that, eventually the first wall of the reactor vessel and the surrounding lithium mantle develop 100,000 to 1,000,000 curie for every megawatt of heat energy.

This equals from several million billion up to one billion billion disintegrations per second.

Escaping neutrons form nitrogen isotopes N-13 and N-16, the carbon isotope C-14 and the argon isotope AR-14 in the surrounding air.

The same isotopes are formed when air enters the vacuum system in the reactor vessel as a result of leaks.

Further radioactivity occurs through the action of hydrogen plasma on the first wall. This involves primarily gases and gasified carbon-hydrogen molecules.

And, finally, carbon and other impurities in the material of the first wall are activated and extracted from this wall by the ions of the plasma.

American scientists pointed out years ago that radiation within the reactor vessel of the fusion reactor eventually becomes so marked that, in case of a breakdown, not even electronic robots can be sent into the vessel for reapirs. Their circuits would collapse under the intensity of radiation.

Estimated of tritium emission to the surrounding air range between several thousand and several tens of thousands cruie a year — about 100 to 1,000 times more than in a fission reactor generating 1,000 megawattz.

Tritium emission into the cooling water is also likely to be 10 times that of today's reactors.

But tritium is a rather harmless radioisotope. The range of its radiation in air is barely one centimetre and in tissue only a fraction of a millimetre.

As a result, a tritium atom can disintegrate in the human bladder without endangering genetic material.

For other radioisitopes, the expected annual radiation of a fusion reactor in the cooling water is about one curie. This roughly equals the radiation of the reactors operating in the Federal Republic of Germany today.

Walter Baier

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 25 January 1980)

■ BOOKS

Libraries look to the micro-film revolution

Micro filming is gaining popularity as the answer to the problem of word storage.

The Americans have led the way in this field for a long time, but others are now catching up.

In the Federal Republic of Germany alone, there are plans by various organisations to record 10m pages of print and 500,000 works of art by micro filming them.

It is quite likely that there will soon be between 60,000 and 70,000 new titles a year.

The book trade may be able to keep up with developments a bit longer; libraries and the ordinary reader have long since given up in despair.

Five hundred years after Gutenberg, the use of microfilm threatens not to dislodge the book as a medium but certainly to reduce its importance — especially in the scholarly and literary fields where it has so far reigned supreme.

The reason for this is not only that the flood of books simply cannot be channelled. Book production increased fivefold between 1951 and 1974 and, at the same time, the price of books rose drastically.

This may seem to be a contradiction. But old fashioned economic theories do not apply here. The old economic adage that the greater the amount you produce the cheaper the individual product is applies less and less to books.

Even if further technical progress could *stabilise production costs, other* factors push prices up.

There is little that can be done about this, and this means that books are becoming luxury articles which people have to think twice before buying.

This is most apparent in the library sector. Modern libraries start bursting at the seams after a few years. If libraries kept to books only the cost would break them.

The Americans were the first to do something about its. Since the fifties, they have been storing more and more scholarly literature on microfilm.

In retrospect, the Europeans were wise to hold back at first. The Americans for many years used small-roll film but lately they have switched to the new micro-card system, now used in two out of three cases.

And in future it will probably be the only system used, as in Europe. By this process, 98 normal pages can be printed on a micro-card the size of a postcard.

The production costs are about a tenth of those for a normal book page. Up to 650 pages can be copied in one second. The storage costs are about one per cent of the costs for ordinary printed media, and distribution is equally cheap.

The Americans continue to have the widest range of micro-card programmes. The main universities have their own micro-film publishers.

And the Soviet Union is not far behind.

It has set up a firm for the US market which keeps micro-card records of the main Russian newspapers and magazines.

Many firms are moving into micro-card publishing, from the Voltaire Foundation to the Southern Baptist Convention.

The University of London, which otherwise only publishes books, has set up a micro-publishing firm for its Institute of United States Studies — so that it can better keep in touch with the major libraries and research institutes in the US. Leaving aside the range of works, the West Germans run the Americans very close indeed. There are two major projects now being worked on in this country which are far more ambitious in volume than anything yet produced. The Georg Olms Verlag, in Hildesheim, the West German reprint publishers with most titles, is producing a Library of the German Language from the beginnings to the present day. A famous editorial board guarantees the quality of the project. The late Carlo Schmidt was one of the editors and among the others are Bernhard Fabian, H.-G. Gadamer, Heinz Goerke, Golo Mann, Gert Preiser, I.E. Schmidt, Gorgio Tonelli and Wilhelm Treue.

They are aiming to produce a comprehensive survey of the German mind such as the Brothers Grimm and Freiherr von Stein could only dream of.

Another project, a monumental record of all the works of art in German collections, is due to be completed this year. It is a joint project by Foto Marburg and the Rhine Picture Archive.

Other slightly less ambitious projects include the Situation Reports (1920-1929) and Reports (1929-1939) of the German Secret Services.

They are being published by the National Archive in Coblenz and K.G. Saur Verlag, Munich.

There are two factors behind the Olms Verlag project. In 1970 the main American libraries, who in the days of the strong American economy and the strong dollar had bought up to 40 per cent of Olms' production, were badly hit by the economic crisis.

American reprint purchases had been mainly of works of English and German literature and literary scholarship, musical science, theology and classics.

The loss of such an important customer cannot easily be made up for, and so Olms started exploring new areas. The micro-film field seemed promising.

German literary scholars had been working on monumental collections of texts covering several periods of German literature and it looked as if these collections simply would not be published because of the prohibitive cost.

Also, literary research had adopted a new, more wide-ranging concept of sources. The rising science of literary sociology was not content with the study of "masterpieces."

Scholars such as Leo Löwenthal pointed out that traditional persectives would have to change if breakthroughs in scholarship were to be made.

Until then, German literary scholarship had concentrated on the work and the author, whereas now the history of a work's reception and influence came to the foreground.

This meant, among other things, that contemporary magazines and newspapers would have to be collected and studied.

This was where the micro-film system came in. The Library of the German Language is divided into three sections. One of the series will concentrate on authors, another on periodicals and another on works of reference.

Heinemann, Otto von
Das Kgr. Hannover u. d. Hgtm. Braunschweig. Darmstadt 1858. 2. Bd.
Bibliothek der Deutschen Sprache
Serie 1: Autoren
1.4.51.050.7
OLMS MICROF...

Preserved in miniature: actual size of reduction

(Photo: Georg Olms V

Work has already started on "German Newspapers from the Beginning to the Mid-Nineteenth Century.". This will include the *Rheinische Merkur* from 1814-1816.

The Acta Eruditorum will also be published in full — 117 volumes, 70,000 pages. This is where Leibnitz wrote his controversies, against Isaac Newton for instance. Christian Wolff and Christian Thomasius also wrote for it.

The Classical Literary Magazines of the 17th and 18th Centuries will also be made accessible. This is an incredibly meticulous and time-consuming task, requiring the skills of a Sherlock Holmes, as few of these magazines are available in full.

When the project is completed, scientists will not only be spared long journeys, they will also find material which in many cases they did not even know existed. This applies to almost all periods.

In the Book Fair Catalogue from the 16th to the 18th century, it emerged that there were a number of special fairs which no one knew about. This may seems irrelevant to the ordinary reader, but scholars can draw a wealth of conclusions and information from it.

The Book Fair Catalogue, incidentally, is the best-seller to date in the Olms Verlag micro-card project.

At the moment, about 350,000 pages of the Library of the German Language have been recorded on micro-film. In all, million pages are planned.

The publisher's present capacity is about 100,000 pages per year. At that rate, the whole project would take a hundred years.

However, they hope that after initial difficulties they can speed up the process and complete the project in 20 years. The entire library will be small enough to fit into four average-sized bookcases.

A project of this size is beyond the means of private individuals even though good microfilms readers cost about DM800 and cheaper ones are available for DM200 to DM300.

The editions are small — 20-50. Those working in narrow fields are better off with normal reprints, although photocopies can also be made of micro-cards.

However, it is possible that this process will be used for less ambitious series soon. French publishers Hachette now includes more monographs in its micro-film programme.

This has been common practice in the US for decades, though huge projects also flourish there — for example the Library of American Civilisation (19,000 volumes, 6.5 million pages) and a Library of English Literature (2,500 volumes, 750,000 pages).

The Marburg Index jointly produced by Foto Marburg and the Rhine Picture Archive and originally planned to contain 500,000 pictures, will now contain 150,000 fewer.

When the main work is completed the other pictures will be added.

In the second version, other institutions such as the Prussian Culture Foundation will provide material.

The Marburg Index is arranged topographically: art in German from one region to the next. The pictures being used are in some cases up to 150 years old.

About 100,000 have not been available up to now.

An important feature for art researchers is that these pictures often record an earlier state of preservation of a work. The entire collection can easily be stored in a few drawers.

Assuming that the collection will finally include 500,000 works, the costs are impressively low. Reproductions would cost DM2.5 million. The entire micro-card system, however, only costs as much as 2,500 reproductions.

the price per photo is less than two pfennigs. The micro reader can easily be converted into a slide projector, the micro-card can be used as a slide and can also be photocopied.

The topographical principle is of course a problem if the user does not know where the work in question is. He then has to search more or less haphazardly.

But a basic register combined with a computer programme is planned which will make it easy to pinpoint the necessary information and find the work in question.

The Volkswagen Foundation has put DM1.4 million into the project. Whether the Foundation will provide further funds is till undecided.

If all the plans are realised, it will soon be possible for an art scholar to find out at the press of a button how many lime wood madonnas were produced in the Rhineland in the second half of the 14th century.

Paul F. Reit[illegible]

(Rheinischer Merkur / Christ und Welt, 18 January 1980)

■ THE ARTS

Mocking moralist with a 'portable fatherland'

Hermann Kesten, who has turned 80, began his literary career during the Weimar Republic, with provocative, critical novels: *Josef sucht die Freiheit* ("Josef seeks freedom"), 1927; *Ein ausschweifender Mensch* ("An extravagant person"), 1929; and *Glückliche Menschen* ("Happy People"), 1931.

His arrival on the literary scene was greeted with enthusiasm by established writers, who saw in him a representative of the new generation and the New Sobriety (Neue Sachlichkeit).

During the late twenties and early thirties, Kesten wrote lively satirical stories which are unjustly forgotten today, witty essays on literary history and committed reviews.

Even in his seventies, Kesten did not dream of retiring and surprised us all by publishing his first volume of poems, *Ich bin der ich bin* ("I am who I am") in 1974.

So Kesten is a novelist and short story writer, an essayist and critic and finally a poet.

But another description would be briefer and more apt: Hermann Kesten is a typical German writer, a man who

Frankfurter Allgemeine

not only produces and writes about literature, but also lives in and with literature.

Literature is his element, which he has loved from the beginning. He has served it well over the years — restless and impatient, incorruptible and passionate.

Kesten was born in the first month of this century in Nuremberg. He studied German literature at nearby Erlangen University, and in Frankfurt. After his studies he went to live in Berlin and became literary editor of the Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag.

During his time there, Kiepenheuer published the best novels of his friend, Joseph Roth ("Hiob" and the "Radezky March"), some of the finest Kafka short stories, including the "Building of the Chinese Wall", Anna Seghers' first book, *Aufstand der Fischer von Santa Barbara* ("The Santa Barbara Fishermen's Rebellion"), Brecht's *Versuche*, and essays by Gottfried Benn and Heinrich Mann.

All this in the space of a few years!

In spring of 1933, shortly after Hitler came to power, Kesten fled to Paris, where he became a central figure in literary life, especially as editor of the excellent Allert de Lange publishers of Amsterdam, who specialised in exile literature.

In 1940 he managed to get out of France just before the German occupation and went to New York.

There he worked tirelessly to help emigré German writers, many of whom owe him a great deal. Some even owe him their lives.

And after the war? "Can a foreign country even be our fatherland?" an exile asks in Goethe's work.

This is a rhetorical question, but is followed by the answer: "Your fatherland has become a strange country to you."

No, Kesten did not return to Germany immediately. He stayed in New York and then spent some time in Rome. He lived mainly in hotels, was always travelling and often visited West Germany, where he was always welcome, as a stimulating guest.

So is Kesten a man without a home? This is only part of the story. Kesten, the son of Jewish immgirants from Eastern Europe, found a home in his youth which he never needed to leave and to which he remained true throughout his life.

Heinrich Heine described the German language as "our most precious possession", for it was a "fatherland even to those denied a fatherland by stupidity and cunning."

German literature and the German language became Kesten's "portable fatherland."

He would phone Germany from New York or Rome: eager, warning, insulting and joking.

He wrote about censorhhip and tyranny, reason and freedom, the Ten Commandments and the death penalty, Nazis and Jews, literature and men of letters.

The titles of his collected essays, portraits and pamphlets indicate the world in which he lived: *Der Geist der Unruhe* ("The Spirit of Unrest"), 1959; *Meine Freunde, die Poeten* ("My Friends the Poets"), 1953; and *Lauter Literaten* ("Men of Letters One and All"), 1963.

In these works Kesten comes over as a lively apostle of the enlightenment, a mocking moralist, cheeky preacher and enthusiastic encyclopaedist, an aggressive liberal.

Kesten is a funny writer who takes his writing and what he days very seriously, a provocateur whose provocations are beneficial and necessary.

Kesten admits freely that the regards the whole world as one huge literary coffee house. This admission indicates both the charm and the limitations of his work.

He is an enthusiast, an admirable lover of literature and of the mind. Cool analysis never interested him.

He is far more of a lyrical and emotional essayist and his best work is to be found in his apologies.

No discreet illumination for him; he plunges everything into a glaring spotlight; he simplifies in order to clarify.

His method consists mainly of the surprising juxtaposition of names and facts, a method which sometimes produces amazing Kaleidoscope effects.

Occasionally assertions take the place of proof and *bon mots* replace argument, but this does not detract from the overall quality of his work.

Ludwig Marcuse said that Kesten was more of a conjuror than a scholar. In fact he is both.

Of all his books, I prefer *Meine Freunde die Poeten.* He portrays them lovingly and wittily, sometimes unfairly but always amusingly. He speaks of the great masters of past centuries as if they were his closest friends, as if he would have liked to argue and discuss with them. He writes of many contemporaries as if they were immortal masters. He taps the dead on the shoulder and builds monuments to the living.

Meine Freunde die Poeten is a mine of information which German literary historians have tended to ignore.

Kesten has also produced half a dozen excellent anthologies and has done much useful work to promote the works of contemporaries such as Joseph Roth and René Schickele.

Has Germany recognised the extraordinary achievements of this effervescent talent?

Yes, but Kesten had to wait a long time. He did not receive the Georg Büchner Prize he had long deserved until 1974.



Hermann Kesten

(Photo: Sven Simon)

In the 1970s, he held an office that might have been made for him: President of the West German PEN club.

Dignified, cheerful, hard-working and lively, he did a lot of good during his term of office.

Did it occur to anyone in Bonn to ask Kesten to come back to this country, did they offer him a house? No, but Munich did.

Kesten hesitated, but finally decided to turn down the offer, with thanks. Blessed and cursed with the restlessness, vitality and vulnerability of the Jews, Kesten wanted to remain what he has been for half a century: an emigrant who has made literature his home.

When the city of Munich offered to hold a large public dinner in honour of his 80th birthday, Kesten smilingly turned the idea down and quickly retired to his small, lonely hotel in New York.

He did not want to be celebrated. We must respect this decision. Nonetheless, we send our warmest regards across the Atlantic — the Atlantic, which separates us, yet cannot separate us.

Marcel Reich-Ranicki

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 28 January 1980)

Lil Dagover, an institution in German cinema

Lil Dagover, along with Marlene Dietrich the leading German female film star of the thirties and forties, died in a Munich hospital on 23 January, aged 82.

Lil Dagover was something of an institution in the history of the German cinema.

Was she really a good film actress or was she just a beautiful face? This question, inevitably asked on such occasions, is beside the point.

Lil Dagover was a good film actress because she was so beautiful. Greta Garbo, Humphrey Bogart, John Wayne and Rudolph Valentino were the greatest film actors but they were not great actors in the sense that some stage actors are great.

The stage actor plays his part, whereas the film actor is his part.

This means that he or she must look the part of the character they are portraying.

Stage actors have little difficulty playing very different parts, but film actors do. As they are always playing themselves, it can be said that throughout their careers they are playing variations on the same character. A first success



Lil Dagover

(Photo: Archiv)

can type-cast a film actor for life.

Dagover always played the part of the lady. Her characteristics were apparent in her first major success, Robert Wiene's expressionistic Cabinet of Doctor Cagliari (1919): her fine, composed features, her dark, pre-Raphaelite eyes, her small, svelte figure which was never petite.

She made over a hundred films, the most famous of which, part from *Doctor Cagliari*, are *Der müde Tod* (directed by Fritz Lang, 1921) and *Tartüff* (Murnau, 1925).

Both were silent movies, but Lil Dagover also enjoyed considerable success during the Hitler era and in post-war German films.

She was involved in the ups and downs of the German cinema right up to 1961, when she played in *Karl May*, by Syberberg.

Director Max Reinhardt persuaded her to act on the stage as well, and she played the part of Beauty in *Das Grosse Welttheater.*

One of her most successful stage parts was as the *Madwoman of Chaillot*, which the critics praised highly. She had often played this kind of part in films.

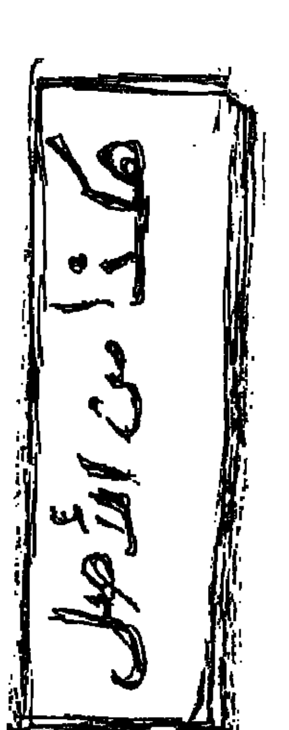
Her successful transition from film to stage acting shows that she gradually grew into the "life-part" part she played in life and in her art.

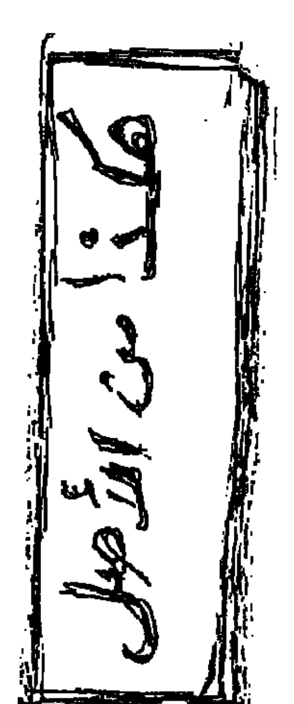
She was not only the first lady of German film but also the last, a character which is disappearing not only on the stage but in real life.

And it will be increasingly difficult to find actresses who can play these parts at all, let alone as well.

Wilfried Wiegand

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 25 January 1980)





■ MIGRANTS

Theatre group wins award for work with Italian children

A Youth Centre in Dietzenbach in Hesse has won the Brothers' Grimm Prize worth DM10,000 for its theatre work with foreign youngsters.

The prize, awarded every two years for "the advancement of children's and young people's theatre" was presented to Willy Praml, director of political and cultural education at the centre, and Hansjörg Maier of the Berlin Wannsee Youth Centre.

The prize was awarded mainly for the results of the centre's work with South Italian youngsters from the Gallus district of Frankfurt.

These youngsters act together in the *teatro Siciliano*, which has an excellent reputation as a lively amateur theatre group in the city.

What makes this group different from most amateur theatre groups is that it concentrates on the actors' own problems and difficulties: family conflicts, environmental problems, unemployment, differences of mentality, in short the whole tangle of problems people working in a foreign country are confronted with.

The major problem is that they become alienated from their home country and would like to go back to it but cannot because they would not be able to earn a living there.

The group's plays are presented in German, and its work is subsidised by the Gallus Citizens' House and the Cultural Activities Department of the Frankfurt *People's Education Association*.

Its work exemplifies the task which the youth centre has set itself: "We regard cultural work as the discovery and reorganisation of the existing cultural identity of a given group.

"Cultural work must go hand in hand with the existing life cultures and should not be reduced to culturally-tinged social work.

"The aim of cultural work is neither to compensate for non-existent or inadequate opportunities in life, nor to propagate optimistic slogans and politically desirable behaviour."

After the prize-giving ceremony, the *teatro Siciliano* played a selection of scenes from its plays. They contained nothing likely to shock the CDU MP present at the ceremony.

Their political reality did not go beyond that described in Sunday and

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workaday speeches by politicians: German folk theatre with a touch of Italian fire.

It was interesting to note that the youngsters seemed to have accepted German *cliché* images of Italians, though of course there was also implied critique and rejection of this image in the plays.

It is a complicated situation, so much so that daughters of Italian families do not get permission to take part in the plays. Their places are taken by German girls.

After being awarded the prize, Praml and Maier were lifted and carried on the shoulders of the youngsters in the manner of football cup winners.

They made no secret of the fact that their work "is by no means regarded as self evident either inside or outside the institutions."

They said they were delighted that "here theatre is being acknowledged which does not exist in official culture and children's and youth theatre; and because this kind of theatre work is not even regarded as self evident in the framework within which it developed an and is practised, but instead leads a gipsy-like existence on the fringes of political education."

For their theatre work, Praml and Maier rely heavily on an intensive seminar week with the youngsters in the Youth Centre in Berlin.

"We rely on them going over in their minds what they have experienced.

"We have found that this method of making people talk means that we are involved in political education work. The experiences in their heads are not arranged and sorted out more or less as they would be in a photo album; in their minds they go over conflicts in their everyday lives.

"These conflicts are then as now determined by economic conditions. They work out their interests which have to be expressed, and this leads to conflicts.

"We wanted to reinforce this realisation and articulation of interests — not in some kind of secret association but by means of presentation in public."

This last remark indicates the mistrust with which their work is oftgen greeted by official public institutions.

In a joint study on theatre work with working class youngsters written in 1977, Praml and Maier say: "Cooperation with trade unions has only brought negative results so far.

"As long as trade unions regard cultural work only as agitation for the purposes of their own organisation or the inculcation of correct consciousness and reject cooperation with non-union organisations as undesirable or unnecessary, then trade union events are bound to be merely 'edifying.' They stick together and cultivate their consciousness."

The trade unions have a largely conservative view of culture and in their fear of contamination they have much in common with bourgeois review pages culture, which functions as a kind of cultural stock market, in which what is publicly subsidised also receives most publicity.

Berlin Senate director Günter Struve in his prize-giving speech argued against the traditional and conservative view of culture which turned its nose up at real life or regarded it at best as a mirror for its creations.

Struve said: "The jurors did [not] choose a professional children's young people's theatre for the prize; for this I would like to thank them.

"They realised that in theatre too, traditional concept of culture is too narrow and that the social dimension [must] be extended.

"More: socio-educational theatre is a cultural matter and not just a m[atter] for social workers, teachers, education specialists and politicians.

"Interestingly, this is a common[place] in social and educational work, but fortunately not in cultural work. There are still cultural guardians who see culture threatened by our new concept [of] culture, by the social extension of [the] concept of culture and by any kin[d of] socio-educational cultural work; [who] regard the very serious dramatic [treat]ment by youngsters of their social [problems] as a threat to social peace. What do [the]se guardians and popes of culture [regard] as social peace?"

What they mean is: leave us in [peace] with your dissatisfaction, or at [least] don't pretend that your plays are [art] or cultural work.

This tentative work is thus interpreted as a form of aggression. Behind [it] there is a need for defence. And this [in] turn means that there are prizes to [be] won in culture — and far more than [the] DM10,000 of the Brothers Grimm Pri[ze].

Helmut Schmitz

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 28 January 19[80])

Redrafted policy aims at improving job prospects

Bonn is stepping up measures to improve the qualifications, job prospects and access to better-paid jobs for foreign workers.

It has produced a regulation making it easier for foreigners to get work permits and abolishing the preferential treatment given to Germans. This regulation should be officially announced before Easter.

Unions and employers have until 5 February to state their objections and reservations about the new regulations — but there is little doubt that they will go through.

After years of discussions at committee and advisory levels, the government has produced a specific policy paper over dealing with foreigners.

The paper will be published in March.

Its contents will be based to some extent on the comprehensive list of recommendations drawn up by the Foreign Employees' Coordination Committee, which in its study of the situation of foreign workers has come to "alarming" conclusions.

Of the 45,000 who reach working age every year, about 70 per cent "are excluded from any form of professional qualification whatever."

Either they have not passed the elementary school leaving certificate or their knowledge of German is inadequate.

The Co-ordination Committee, consisting of top civil servants from Bonn and the *Länder* and experts from the welfare associations, workers' and employers' representatives and churches, warned that failure to integrate could mean that the million-strong second generation of foreign workers could be condemned to unemployment or life-long unskilled labour and could thus "endanger social stability and peace in our land."

The most prominent government adviser on the problems of foreign workers is former North Rhine-Westphalia Prime Minister Heinz Kühn.

The coordination committee [made] 150 recommendations, from more kindergarten places for foreign children [to] more apprenticeships for foreigners.

Bonn Minister of Labour Herbert Ehrenberg decided the quicker granting [of] work permits as one measure that [could] be put into force soon.

Up to now, applicants had to prove that they had lived in the Federal Republic of Germany for five years [or] that at least one of their parents [had] been working here for five years. A [re]duction to two years was only possible in cases of hardship.

In future every foreign youngster [will] have a legal right to a work permit if [he] starts professional training, if he has [a] German school leaving certificate or [if] he can prove his willingness to be integrated by taking part in special job preparation courses.

An SPD working party in the Bundestag headed by labour market expert Hans-Eberhard Urbaniak called on Federal Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer to finance the attendance of these courses by the 30,000 foreign children who leave school every year without qualifications.

No one can say at the moment how many foreign youngsters will come on to the German labour market in future.

Rolf Weber, labour market expert [of] the Employers' Association, doubts whether there will be added burdens [as] a result of a new influx into the Federal Republic of Germany.

"The Turks bring their families after them anyway," he says.

Foreign youngsters growing up in this country now could fill the gap in skilled labour predicted for 1985 — regardless of whether the ban on recruitment of foreign labour stays or is lifted.

(Wirtschaftswoche, 25 January 19[80])

■ WOMEN

Training for traditional role 'a cause of later illness'

An upbringing aimed at making sure a woman fitted into female roles is one reason for sickness in adulthood, a conference of gynaecologists and psychologists has been told.

Melani Altpeter-Becöwe, a psychologist, said that this training to play a role was only one of a number of reasons stemming from childhood that could cause illness in women.

She told the conference, in Tutzing, Bavaria, that later there was the added factor of stress at work.

The theme of the meeting was: What makes women sick and what makes them well.

Everybody was agreed that stress makes sick. But then, stress is also recognised as vital in adapting to a social environment. The question was: How much stress?

Factory workers suffer from monotony, lack of exercise and the knowledge

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that they can be replaced at a moment's notice.

They seek "oral consolation" and promptly become overweight.

In the middle class this consolation occurs in the form of liquor and drugs.

It is not only monotony that leads to such reactions but frequently also the knowledge of inescapability.

What is a young woman to do who not only has to cope with three small children but also with her unloved housework?

Is she to become politically involved, as somebody in the audience suggested, and thus try to get laws changed?

Heckled one angry woman in the audience: "When? At night, when the children have been put to bed?"

And what is the older woman to do whose household is becoming smaller and smaller and who cannot abandon old habits because, if she did, she would lose her reason for carrying on.

So what is she to do? Take a job again? But this is easier said than done. An employer is unlikely to hire anybody of her age.

What use is it for a woman to know which illness medicine has linked with a particular personality?

Does it help her to know that headaches and aching shoulders and neck mainly affect women who are ambitious without achieving their goals?

Does it help to know that unfulfilled ambition goes hand in hand with migraine, depression and escapism?

What are women to do who have to try to hold their own or get ahead in a male world and then still have to cope with housework?

What good is it for women who suffer from insomnia to know that their affliction comes from insecurity in the wake of separation from their husbands?

The gynaecologists at the congress were quick to attach a label to everything — especially since Alexander Mitscherlich proved that more than 50 per cent of the patients consulting a gynaecologist suffer from psychosomatic symptoms.

Whatever emotions are suppressed, organic complaints are the order of the day. A troubling emotional experience leads to menstruation problems, the blood becoming the symbol of "being wounded."

If a woman refuses to accept facts, her period frequently fails to materialise — out of protest.

So what is the answer? Trying to escape or facing the situation?

One gynaecologist came up with a label for women trying to defend themselves. According to him, "militant feminism" can also make women sick because it tends to prevent them talking about their problems.

What is the answer? When women try to solve their problems among themselves without anybody talking down to them, their work proves fruitful.

The individual work groups in Tutzing, exchanging experience on specific problems, thus did good work.

For instance: The work group "Sex and Health", consisting of women between 17 and 70 whose ties grew closer within a mere three hours, dealt with the question why so many women become frigid after giving birth.

Some said that this war largely due to strong emotional ties with the baby. One woman came up with another answer, saying: "My doctor treated me so unsympathetically that I just couldn't stand the sight of a man anymore."

Another said: "Do you know how long the small incision to facilitate birth keeps hurting?"

Others again said that they were simply exhausted and that they needed the bit of sleep they could get with a crying baby. There were no labels attached to anything as young and old conveyed their experiences. The question whether sex was good for health or whether lack of it made one sick was again marked by individual experiences and attitudes. There were those who said: "If you've never had it you won't miss it." Others held those who need little sex will not get sick if that's all they do get.

Is it the women's groups that make women well? Perhaps they play a role.

The closing paper, read by Dr Gertrud Krüskemper, professor of medical psychology at the Ruhr University in Bochum, made a modest attempt at coming up with an answer.

She said: "We must review our way of life. We still eat as if we were harvesting our own potatoes. We cannot sleep because modern technology relieves us of physical work.

"Our bodies have not yet adjusted to the technical age. They still produce hormones needed for aggression or flight although we neither attack nor flee.

"As a result, we must learn to relax, be it through music or yoga, and so keep our hormones under control."

Unfortunately, no such techniques can cure sorrow — and Professor Krüskemper knew it only too well.

Renate Röber

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 January 1980)

(Cartoon: Marie Marcks/Vorwärts)

Government plan to help the 'remoteness' of Turks

The plight of Turkish women in West Germany has become so serious that the Government in Bonn is planning special help for them.

There are an estimated 300,000 women from Turkey here, most of them with their husbands.

Cultural remoteness is even more pronounced than for most other migrant wives.

Most Turkish women are illiterate and get little help from their husbands, their children and the Germans around them.

"These women urgently need help," says Christel Schmarsow of the Bonn Education Ministry.

The Ministry is now prepared to finance a pilot project to help.

A preliminary study shows that Turkish women live in extreme isolation.

Not only are they separated from their accustomed way of life in large clans but they have also had to sever many emotional ties that made for psychological stability.

Most of these women are cut off from all social contacts in Germany. This is further aggravated by the absolute authority of their husbands.

Nordwest Zeitung

To make matters worse, their housing is poor and their knowledge of German almost nonexistent.

But illiteracy is the worst handicap of all. Some 80 per cent of women in Turkey's rural areas have never gone to school. The dominant view in small towns and villages is that all a woman needs to know is how to cook, launder and work in the fields.

And, above all, she must obey her husband, says Mevlüde Baklan, a Turkish social worker in Duisburg.

The girls in Turkey do not feel discriminated against by such a tradition. The trouble begins when they go abroad and find that they cannot even sign a simple receipt.

This causes a feeling of inferiority, especially towards the woman's own children who go to German school and acquire German behavioural patterns.

This leads to differences between the children and their mother. Her traditional methods no longer work.

"Many Turkish families have wound up on the rocks in this country," says social worker Baklan.

"The men no longer respect their wives. They are dissatisfied with them because they are so different from German women.

"As a result, the Turkish wives here become increasingly lonely and they suffer so much that they would even be prepared to learn to read and write if they knew that this would help."

The Bonn project is trying to get Tirkish women to enrol in special courses by canvassing families. The field workers want to make the women form groups that would then attend school together.

They also want to teach them about modern housekeeping and how to deal with the authorities.

The first of these pilot schemes will be launched in Dortmund, Kassel and Hanover.

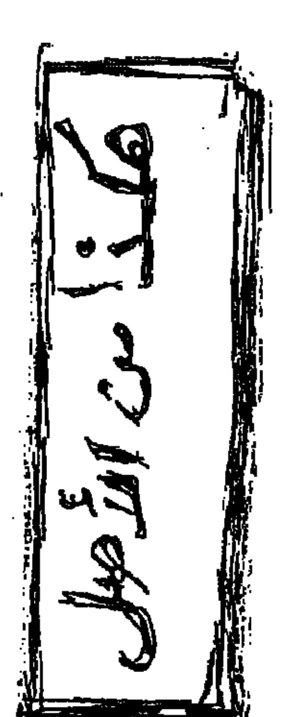
A welfare organisation which has already organised language courses in some cities with high proportions of foreigners has found that Turkish women are willing to learn.

In fact, some had even secretly practised how to read and write, using their children's textbooks.

One of the biggest obstacles, however, is the Turkish husband.

Says a social worker: "They view the whole thing with mistrust because they are unaccustomed to any independence on the part of women."

(Nordwest Zeitung, 19 January 1980)





■ MODERN LIVING

Court gives men a break over housework

The Constitutional Court has caused a minor sensation by ruling that single men keeping house for themselves must enjoy the same rights as working women.

If they work a six-day week they must, like women, be given a free day once a month on full pay to look after their household affairs. Unless this is done, women would have to forfeit their right to a day off every month.

The suit was filed by a Cologne male nurse, Ferdinand Mück.



Ferdinand Mück (Photo: dpa)

Two years after the Federal Labour Court turned down a similar suit, the Constitutional Court justices reversed the earlier ruling in favour of the petitioner.

They also reversed a 1962 ruling of the Federal Labour Court which held that the housekeeping day was linked with the typical division of labour among the sexes and was therefore a prerogative of working women.

The Constitutional Court justices held that no such division of labour existed today. The burden of job and household is the same, be the householder a man or a woman, the justices said.

The Federal of Employers, in an initial comment, called the ruling "relatively unimportant" because it was inapplicable to 90 per cent of the working population.

In fact, the Federation held, it was of little importance to women as well because the five-day week had been institutionalised.

North Rhine-Westphalia, Lower Saxony, Bremen and Hamburg, which have passed their own legislation in this field will not have to amend their laws.

The other *Länder* will have to take the ruling into account in one way or another.

Essentially, they can either grant the privilege to men as well or abolish it altogether.

Hans Holfeld

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 30 January 1980)



Gangland tango

Dance of the lawmen: eight officers of the German C.I.D. perform a "criminal ball" dressed in the style of the 1920s. The occasion was to present Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the foreign minister, with a police award for his services to internal security while he was minister of the interior. At the function, in Bonn, Herr Genscher said: "I feel I can relax here and forget about politics." (Photo: [illegible])

Leisure hours are not all they seem to be

Our leisure time is not all that it seems, according to a Hamburg research institute.

On the surface, we are a leisure society: sleep for eight hours, work for another eight, and relaxation for the other eight.

Then there are holidays, which all adds up to a paradise compared with the working man's lot 100 years ago.

However, a team headed by Professor Horst W. Opaschowski at the Leisure Research Institute says that our time off work is not really leisure at all.

On the contrary, the work rhythm extends into this time psychologically and leaves its imprint says the team.

According to its study, the time after working hours is not experienced as genuine leisure time by most people but as an extension of work.

The main function of leisure is regeneration for the work to come. But with most people in this country there is little sign of such activities as pursuing a hobby or a sport on a normal evening after work.

Ursula Neubauer, of the opinion research institute, Contest-Census: "The typical after work mood is rather negative and somewhat irritable."



Family relations are rather stiff because the working person is tired and likes to be left alone. He remains a loner in the community.

And if one of the family members does not abide by this "economy programme" for family relations the pent-up tension can easily explode. Family disputes and "a war of nerves with the children" tops the list of leisure time problems (44 per cent).

Professor Opaschowski and his team hold that the actual problems of work are not the only reason for the projection of the work rhythm into leisure time.

They believe that the working person considers the work system as a haven and leisure time as an unaccustomed freedom that makes him insecure and for which he is ill prepared.

Weekends are used to make up for what has been missed during the week and are therefore overburdened with demands on them.

At least one day is spent visiting acquaintances (42 per cent of people sampled), taking walks with the family (41 per cent), excursions (37 per cent) and going out for dinner or drinks ([illegible] per cent).

The short free period is used intensively, but there remains a great need for security and organisation.

Professor Opaschowski's Institute is financed by the British tobacco manufacturer BAT. Its prime objective is basic leisure research; the ultimate aim to overcome the "naive empiricism" which rests solely on statistics on who does what during leisure time.

Instead, the institute wants to know the "whys" and the psychosocial "wherefores" of our leisure time behaviour.

The interest of a tobacco company in this type of research becomes obvious for all those who have kept an eye on this particular company's advertising theme: young people in groups of two or three and always in casual wear.

Due to spreading health consciousness, BAT realises that there is a limit to the expansion of sales.

As a result, the company has opened a number of pubs and a publishing house with a bimonthly picture atlas on favourite recreation areas such as the H[illegible] and Eifel mountain ranges and the B[illegible]tic.

It also publishes an illustrated recreation magazine called "Outdoors". The tobacco company has thus started a pincer campaign on the recreation market.

The usual market research is now to be buttressed by basic research into leisure time problems. The idea behind this is probably to develop a new market on the periphery of cigarette sales.

The mastermind of the plan is Je[illegible] Litten, a former student organisation official in Hamburg and later columnist of a well-known business magazine.

Herr Litten was at one time the adviser of the BAT competitor Reemtsma.

It was he who developed the concept for the picture atlas.

Walter Rees

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 20 January 1980)

■ SPORT

Today's TV watcher is yesterday's goalie

For more ten years Sepp Maier was West Germany's number one football goalkeeper. After a serious car accident last year before the season started, he was forced to retire. Peter Sager asked him how he was coping with the end of his playing career.

He is dancing on the line, swaying, waiting. The ball will be there any minute and he'll dive into the corner and catch it or push it away for a corner.

A second too late Sepp Maier remembers that he is not defending the Bayern Munich goal in the Olympic stadium but facing a service from his friend Rainer Bley at his tennis school in Anzing.

Maier just gets to the service, returns it and even wins the set. "World class,", he shouts. Then, in a lower tone, "I'll be back, just wait."

The strain of the game and the effort he has put in are plain to see. Once tennis was just a lucrative sporting hobby.

Keeping goal for Bayern and Germany came first. Now it is all he has got left. And this hurts him more than the splint he has had in his arm since the car accident half a year ago.

A few years ago, a reporter asked him how long he intended to go on playing as a goalkeeper. "As long as Franz Beckenbauer and Gerd Müller can push me onto the field in a wheelchair he said.

Today he is no longer amused by this remark of his.

After an hour's tennis, Maier, instead of taking a break, goes for a long run in Ebersberg forest with his Great Dane, Querle.

This reminds me of what former Bayern Munich manager Dettmar Cramer used to say to injured players: "O.K., so one limb is injured. But you can train with the others."

After his accident, Maier had broken ribs and a fractured diaphragm. With injuries like these, not even a spartan attitude can help.

Maier says: "Perhaps I could have gone on and made it back into the team. But Pal Csernai, the manager, let me down."

Maier's tennis park, with 13 open air courts and four halls will give him financial security even when his contract with Bayern Munich runs out in 1981.

The trophies Maier has won in his career are displayed on the staircase and in the centre pub: certificates, photos, pennants and cups.

During his career, Maier won Bundesliga championship medals, world cup, German Cup, European Cup medals, the Sportsman of the Year award and the National Cross for Merit (equivalent of the O.B.E.).

Has he not achieved everything he could possibly wish, several times over? "Well on the one hand I did and on the other I didn't," he says.

Former German trainer Sepp Herberger once remarked that the ball is round and so too, ideally, are sporting records.

"Another four games and I would have had 100 international caps. Another 27 games and I would have played 500 Bundesliga games."

Maier's disappointment goes deeper than this. The final whistle was blow on him in the middle of the game. And that, in his book, is against the rules and contrary to all previous experience.

He had already said that the planned to retire from the national team after the European championships in Rome this summer.

"I had firmly planned this. This would have been my farewell from the national side."

But fate, the terrible spoilsport, did not play ball.

Sepp had trained and played in pre-season games. What he had not reckoned with was the consequences of sliding off the road one rainy evening as he took a right curve.

"And I always thought nothing could ever happen to me. Everything was going so well."

When Walter Junghans, then 18, was signed on as Maier's understudy in 1977, Maier quipped: "Junghans will be an old Hans before he takes my place."

And even now he says he'd still be in the reserves if it wasn't for his accident.

Then, more generously: "He is doing a good job. Of course he is not a Maier. You probably won't see his like again all that soon."

Sepp keeps up his spirits with quips like this, and by reading his fan-mail. "Most of them say they're keeping fingers crossed that I'll be able to play again. As long as people keep writing to him, he feels he hasn't been written off.

He says he has stopped reading what the newspapers have been writing about him since his accident. After all, who likes reading sporting obituaries in their lifetime?



Sepp Maier the god: a young fan pays homage to the one and only. (Photos: Sven Simon)

Don't any of his fans advise him to pack it in? "No, they don't write that. Of course there are a few stupid letters, there always have been.

"Even 1860 Munich fans have written me letters. They seem to find it boring withou me."

We know how good a player he was and he knows too. He has already begun to see himself, in historical terms: "My jokes during pre match warm-ups made people realise that football isn't as serious as some managers and club chairmen think. I think I a kind of missionary for my team."

Sepp laughs off my supposition that Saturday afternoons are the worst time for him: "My hands start tingling at half past three and stop at quarter past five."

"What do you do on Saturdays, when you always used to be playing?"

"I just sit in front of the TV set."

Up to now, his time has always revolved around club training schedules. "Now I sometimes don't know what day it is."

There is no longer the excitement about the next game. Instead Maier now has more time for his family. But now that he has more time for his daughter Alexandra she does not have so much time for him: "Well, there's school, then she goes to gymnastics, then there are piano lessons and three times a week riding lessons. "Then she goes riding on her own — she's almost completely booked up at the age of nine!" Maier's retirement will be a bit different from that of many pensioners. "Of course I have other commitments: autograph-signing sessions, TV advertisement and appearances. School teams ring up, clubs, firm — it's nonstop stress" Maier is in great demand among companies as a fitness trainer and joker: "They have come up with a new idea for conferences and in-service training: morning sport, afternoon sport and evening sport."

Sepp Maier the joker: lunching in the penalty area.

To keep fit himself, Maier has a massage three times a week from Bayern club doctor Gerti Welck. Today, his massage will be followed by rehearsal in a circus for his appearance as a clown.

Maier will certainly continue to entertain us with his jokes and foolery. His friend Rainer Bley, director of Sepp Maier Advertising Ltd, would like to make further use of the fame and talents of the footballing entertainer:

"We could open a sport hotel here in Anzing and organise tours into the Bavaria countryside: 'With Sepp Maier to Neuschwanstein' or 'the German Museum.' Fitness and maybe even Football Training with Sepp Maier."

Now that Maier cannot stand between the Bayern posts, the masses will have to go to him.

Peter Sager

(Die Zeit, 25 January 1980)

Crash ends Olympic sleigh hopes

For bobsleigher Stefan Gaisreiter from Ohlstadt the Winter Olympics in Lake Placid are already as good as over.

In the second round of the two-man bob European Championships in St. Moritz, Switzerland, he and his braker, Dieter Gebhard crashed so badly coming round the final curve that he had to be taken to hospital.

Gaisreiter had to ten stitches in his neck for injuries to veins and muscles.

Gebhard cut his knee, but only needed minor treatment.

Gebhard was also on the sledge in the four-man bob with Gaisreiter which crashed just before the new year.

Then he was slightly concussed and sprained a bone in his back.

This accident happened as they were coming out of the curve and Gaisreiter went down too early. The bob was forced up the side wall again.

As Gaisreiter corrected course again, the bob went too far down and skidded 30 metres along the ice track and over the finishing line.

Gaisreiter's injuries were probably caused by the crash helmet, which was smashed in the accident, cutting his head.

sid/dpa

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 27 January 1980)